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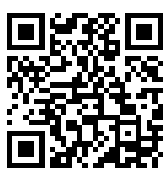

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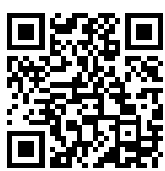

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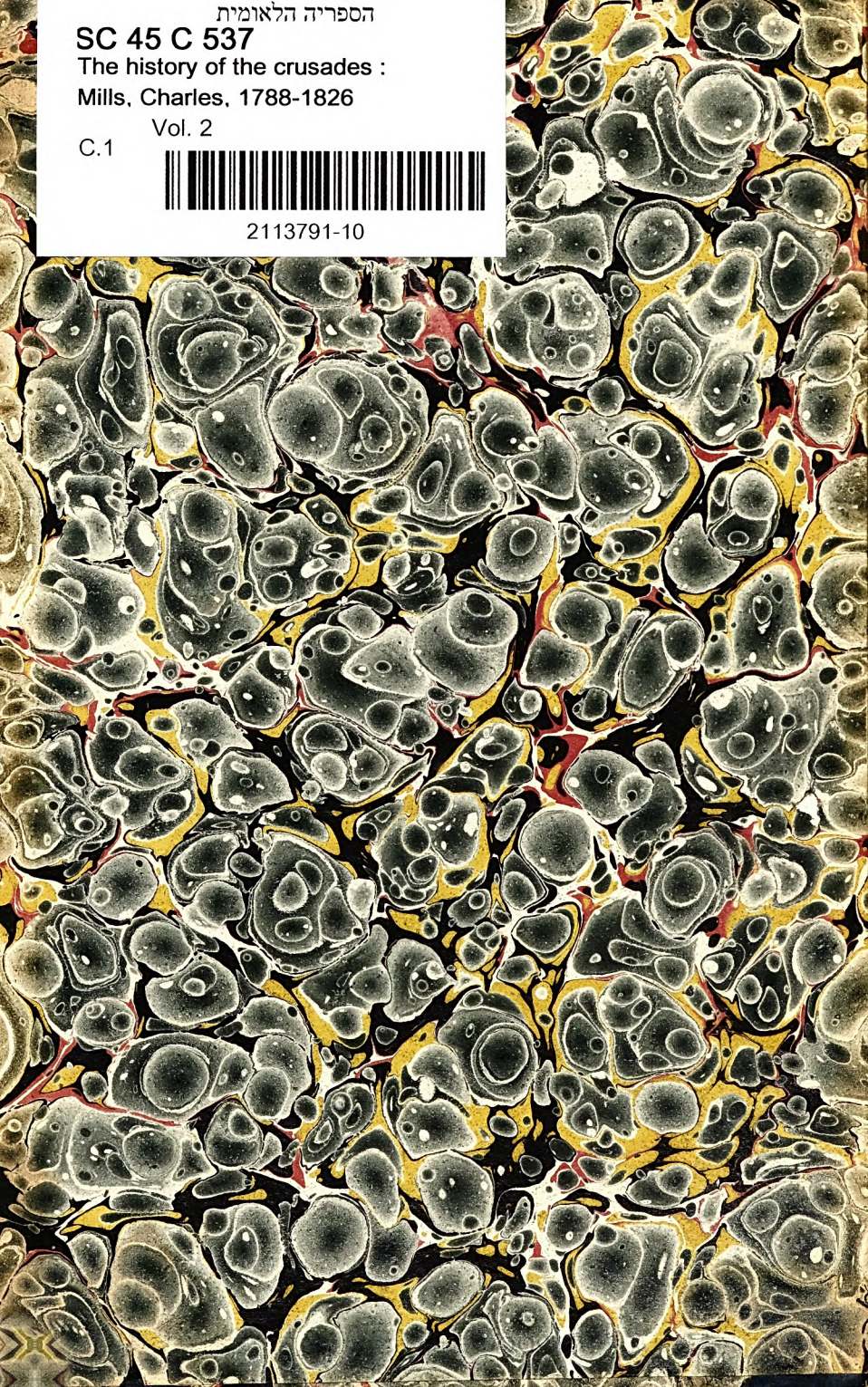

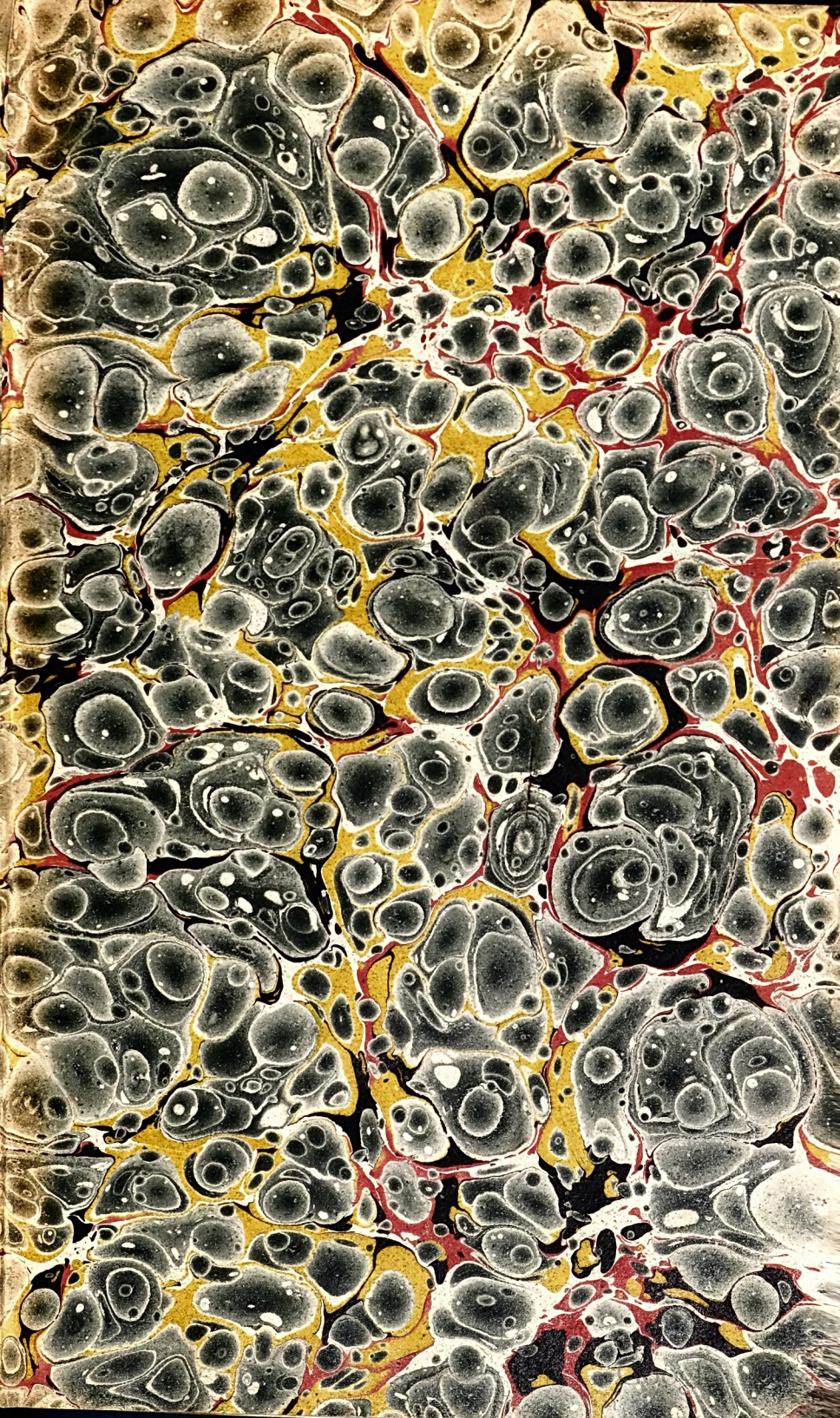

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THE

HISTORY

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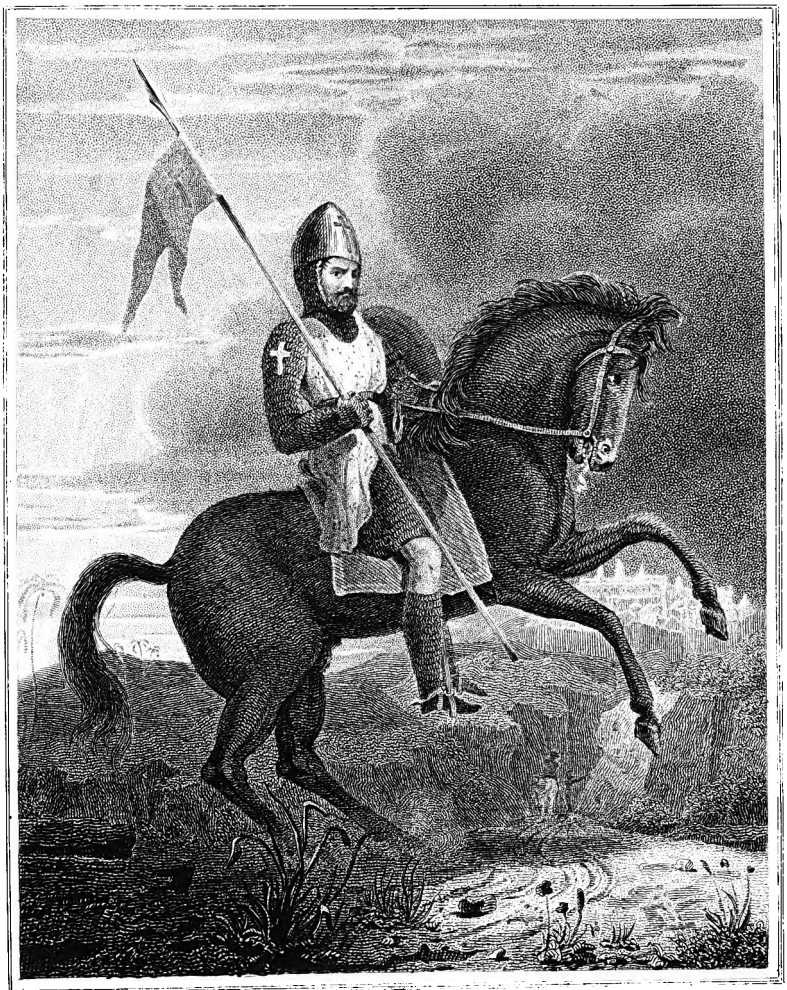

Drawn & Engraved by R.W. Sievier.

A Knight of the First Crusade.

London Published by Longman & Co. March 1827.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CRUSADES,

FOR THE

RECOVERY AND POSSESSION

OF THE

Holy Land.

By CHARLES MILLS.

—— Therefore, friends,
As far as to the Sepulchre of Christ,
(Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight)
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy;
Whose arms were moulded in their mothers' wombs
To chase these Pagans, in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.

SHAKESPEARE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH A

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.

VOL. II.

THE ~~FOURTH~~ EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

1828.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CRUSADES.

CHAP. I.

STATE OF THE HOLY LAND BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES.

Continuation and close of the Edessene history—Siege and capture of Ascalon—Death of Baldwin III—His successor Almeric—Politics of Egypt—Saladin—The Turks and the Franks contend for lordship over Egypt—Final defeat of the Latins—Termination of the Fatimite government—Saladin becomes lord of Egypt—Death of Almeric—Baldwin IV. his successor—His disposition of his kingdom—His death—Civil strife—Guy de Lusignan king—Saladin resolves upon the destruction of the Latins—Eventful battle of Tiberias—Cruelty of Saladin—Consequences of the battle of Tiberias—Jerusalem is recaptured by Saladin—Humanity of the conqueror—Tripoli—Antioch—Retrospect.

THE soldiers who marched under the standards of the emperor of Germany and the king of

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CHAP. I. France, possessed all the bravery and resignation which characterized the early champions of the cross. Valour had lost nothing of its daring, enthusiasm no portion of its confidence. But their tactics were more erroneous, and their ambition more selfish and disastrous than those of their precursors. Edessa, for the rescue of which Bernard had preached and worked miracles, was still in Muselman subjection; and the infidels of Asia found that the Christians of Europe were not invincible. The happy result of a battle with Noureddin threw the fortunes of the family of Courtenay into the hands of Joscelyn. But, incapable of estimating the benefits of mingling conciliation with dignity, he abandoned himself to passion, and sent one of his prisoners to the sultan of Iconium, with the insulting message, that he now saw the squire of his daughter's husband, and that a more afflicting sight would soon be before him.* Noureddin burned to revenge this affront, and exhorted his Turcomans, by every argument of loyalty and patriotism, to destroy or capture the most terrible of demons, and the great scourge of the Muselmans. They met Joscelyn on the road to Antioch, separated from his troops. For awhile he was safe, be-

A.D. 1150. Close of the Edessene history.

* Ben Latir, p. 559.

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cause his bribes seduced them from their allegiance; but one of the Turcomans fled and disclosed the matter to the governor of Aleppo, who served his master's interests by sending a squadron, that captured both the faithless soldiers and Courtenay. The unfortunate prince was conducted as a captive to Aleppo, where he was cast into prison, and soon afterwards put to death.* Noureddin and the sultan of Iconium held in command almost all the country of Edessa; and the king of Jerusalem went to Antioch, to stop if possible the progress of the storm. The emperor of Constantinople, informed of the success of the Muselmans, made the widow of Joscelyn large offers of money for the surrender of Turbessel, and such places as were remaining in her power. The acceptance or rejection of this offer was a serious question of politics; but Baldwin, knowing both the difficulty of driving the Turks from the Edessene country, and the charge of maintaining a Christian force in it, consented that the lordship of the Courtenays should aggrandize the Greek empire. He and the count of Tripoli, and the principal men of Antioch, conducted the officers of the emperor into the towns of Turbessel, Ravendel, Samosat, and others of inferior note.

CHAP. I.

1151.

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 914—916.

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CHAP. I. The countess, with the French and Armenians who had inhabited Edessa, he led to Antioch. The vigilant Noureddin was incessant in his attacks. He poured clouds of arrows into the moving mass of soldiers, old men, women, and children; but the military friars and Red Cross knights, headed by the king and the count of Tripoli, were equally vigilant, and secured the passage of the poor Edessenes. The Greek emperor had not estimated the difficulty of preserving a state in the heart of the Muselman countries: for in less than a year from its cession, Noureddin made the county of Edessa a mere titular honour. While the disposable forces of the Latin kingdom were occupied in saving their frontiers, a body of the Turks, headed by two princes of the family of Ortok, passed through Damascus, and advanced without opposition even to the Mount of Olives. If they had attacked the affrighted city immediately on their arrival, conquest must have crowned their efforts. But confidence gave birth to indolence; and they suffered sufficient time to elapse for the people to recover from the panic which the presence of the infidels had occasioned. The few knights of the military orders who were in the city, excited the inhabitants to arm; and as their numbers were unequal to a regular defence of the walls, they

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rushed, under the close covert of the night, into the enemy's camp, set fire to the tents, and carried death and destruction into every quarter. The infidels fled towards Jericho: the king, who had heard of their inroad, met them on his return to Jerusalem, and killed five thousand. The garrison of Naplousa increased their distress by fresh attacks; and their misery was consummated by their casting themselves into the waters of the Jordan.*

Siege and capture of Ascalon.

These successes stimulated the king to revenge and glory. Ascalon was a strong and important city; its inhabitants were numerous, brave, and rich, and its adjacency to Gaza, the frontier fortress of the Christians, made it an object of anxiety and terror. Gerard, lord of Sidon, with fifteen small ships, guarded the sea from all passage of provisions to the city; while Baldwin, with an army increased beyond its usual force by some new pilgrims, and the most full co-operation possible of the military orders, attacked it by land. The siege continued for five months without any approach to a decision, and at the end of that time a strong fleet from Egypt drove away the ships of Gerard, and relieved Ascalon. The nobility, and they

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 919, 922.

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CHAP. I.

who had suffered most, declared the propriety of raising the siege; but the clergy and military orders were of a contrary advice, and the opinion of the knights of St. John prevailed with the council, that in the event of their abandoning the city, ambition, nourished by success, would urge the Turks to march to Jerusalem. In every view of politics, therefore, a firm pursuit of the contest was necessary; and so vigorous in consequence were the hostilities of the besiegers, that breaches in the walls were soon made, the Moslems were repulsed in every sally, and the city capitulated to the king.*

July 1153.

Death of Baldwin III. A.D. 1162. Æt. 33.

For the next eight years, the remainder of the reign of Baldwin, Palestine seldom respired from the miseries of war; but the king preserved the state. Lamentations more general and sincere for the death† of any prince, says the archbishop of Tyre, history has not mentioned, than for the loss of Baldwin. In an eight days' march from Beritus to Jerusalem, his obsequies were followed in mute and solemn sorrow, not only by the people of the various

* Archb. of Tyre, 923, 930.

† He died under the hands of a Syrian physician. The Latins did not understand the art of chemical analysis; and, in order to discover whether the medicine of Baldwin were poisonous, they gave a quantity of it to some puppies.

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towns, but from the fastnesses of Mount Liba- CHAP. I.
nus.* Baldwin III. had many of the accomplishments of chivalry. He was a knight without fear and without reproach. He was eloquent, compassionate, and affable. His attention to religion, and the interests of the church, were praised by his contemporaries. The vivacity, which in early youth led him to gaming and amatory follies, precipitated him afterwards into political imprudence. His conduct was inferior to his courage, but his general chivalric qualities were so much admired and respected by his foe, that when Noureddin was advised by his friends to seize the moment of universal distress at the death of Baldwin, and invade Palestine, the generous Turk replied, "God "forbid that I should take advantage of "the Christians' misfortune. Now that "Baldwin is dead, who is there that I need "fear?"

His successor, Almeric.

Baldwin III. died childless, and, according to the usage of the kingdom, the right to the crown devolved upon his brother Almeric. But some ambitious spirits attempted to shake the foundations of legitimacy. They who had

* Archb. of Tyre, 909, 954. Saphadin, a brother of Noureddin, died a few years before Baldwin III.; and, although there was after him a nominal emir of Mosul, yet Noureddin appears to have been a great gainer by his death.

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CHAP. I. acquired honours in the late wars, contended that the throne should be the reward of valour, for on that principle it had been bestowed upon Godfrey. But the friends of the Bouillon family, and the lovers of hereditary succession, were numerous, and Almeric's own counties of Jaffa* and Ascalon made him personally a powerful prince. The knights of St. John did not account as a fault his enterprising and ambitious spirit. The grand master exerted himself to appease the contest, and in the exaggerated expressions which fanaticism and interest use, he assured the barons, that, if the laws of the kingdom were not observed, the crown would soon be an appendage to the honours of Noureddin: "the people of Jerusa-" lem will become slaves of the infidels, and, " like the traitor Judas, you will deliver the " Saviour into the hands of his enemies." By degrees the faction was dissolved, and some unimportant concessions of jurisdiction by Almeric to the lords recalled their patriotism.†

Politics of Egypt.

Six months after his accession to the throne, the king commenced a war with the Egyptians, on occasion of their failure in an annual pay-

* The county of Jaffa seems always to have been considered as the appanage of the heir apparent. Ascalon had been given to Almeric by his brother Baldwin.

† Archb. of Tyre, 956.

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ment of a tribute which they had promised on the surrender of Ascalon. The progress of the Christians in Egypt was only stopped by the measure which was always ruinous to the natives, of breaking down the banks of the Nile and overflowing the country. The political feuds in Cairo were favourable to hostile inroads. The power of the Fatimite caliphs had been usurped by their ministers, who dared to take the name and enjoy the prerogatives of Sultan. While the vizirs commanded the armies, and swayed the government, the caliph was shut up in the mosque or in the seraglio; a devotee or a sybarite. The only mark of power which was left him, was a right to issue the patent for the installation of the vizirs; but he had no choice of persons, and was obliged to confirm in his usurpation every successful rebel. At the time of the Francic invasion, the grand vizir Shawer, who had been a slave, was deposed by a soldier named Dargham, and the unfortunate prince fled to the court of Noureddin. The Turks, the friends of the caliphs of Bagdad, had long wished to destroy the heretical government and religion of the Fatimites. The sultan of Aleppo, therefore, ever ready to embrace an occasion of interfering in Egyptian politics, treated the stranger with magnificence and courtesy, and promised him alliance and

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CHAP. I. friendship. Among the generals of Noureddin were Shiracouch, and his nephew Saladin, men of the pastoral tribe of the Curds, a ferocious and hardy race, that dwelt in the hilly regions behind the Tigris.* These valiant leaders of the Syrian force were sent into Egypt. In appprehension of their coming, Dargham had dispatched ambassadors to the Franks, with splendid offers of tribute, if they would give him succour. But before the treaty was concluded, Dargham was vanquished and slain by Shiracouch. Shawer had entered Cairo, and had been reinvested in his dignities. The vizir knew well the sinister designs of the Turks, and not only commanded them to quit Egypt, but imprudently and unjustly refused to aquit himself of the promises which he had made to Noureddin. By the advice of Saladin, Shiracouch sent some troops, who took Pelusium; and so much did this measure intimidate Shawer, that he hastened to complete the treaty which had been opened between Dargham and

Saladin 1164.

* Sallah-u-deen, or Saladin, was the son of Nizan-u-deen Aiyvub (a Curd from the village of Dewun), who had been commander of a fort, which he was obliged to leave, because his brother Shiracouch had slain a man of high family, who had insulted an unprotected female. See the Persian MSS. History of the Curds, as cited in Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 1. chap. x.

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the Latins. Almeric put himself at the head of an army, and joined his troops to those of the vizir. For several months the allied Christians and Egyptians besieged Shiracouch and Pelusium; but their immediate presence in the holy land was requisite, for they learnt that a Tartarian storm had gathered. Shiracouch, ignorant of this event, accepted the offer of his enemies, that he should leave Egypt, on giving up his prisoners. The treaty was signed, Pelusium was evacuated, and the Turkish general returned into Syria. The Christians recrossed the deserts into Palestine, and then hastened to Harenc, in the Antiochian territory, whose walls had already been battered by the machines of Noureddin. The skilful Turk retired towards Artesia, and the Latins, with their usual presumption and ignorance, fell upon his right wing. No order was preserved, no precautions were taken against surprise, and when the other battalions of Noureddin charged their foe, the Franks were dismayed and vanquished. No one remembered the bravery of his ancestors, or thought of the honour of fighting for liberty or his country. All laid down their arms, and prostrate on the ground implored the clemency of the conqueror. Some thousand men were slain, and among the prisoners were Bohemond and Raymond, the young princes of

Aug. 1163.

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CHAP. I. Antioch and Tripoli,* the imperial lieutenant of Cilicia, and Joscelyn de Courtenay.† Harenc yielded, and we may admire Noureddin for his prudence in not pushing his success, by laying siege to Antioch, lest the emperor of Constantinople should be roused to the defence of that important barrier against Turkish inroads.‡

The Turks and the Franks contend for lordship over Egypt.

Notwithstanding the rapidity of Almeric's march into Syria subsequently to the siege of Pelusium, yet the town of Paneas, which for

* Bohemond III. was the son of Raymond and Constantia, and succeeded his mother in 1162. Bernardus, 770. Raymond II. of Tripoli was son of Raymond I. and Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem.

† This Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of the Joscelyn de Courtenay who died in prison, was the third and last count of Edessa. After nine years' captivity, he was ransomed by his sister Agnes, widow of Almeric, and mother of Baldwin IV. His history was mingled with that of Jerusalem, as we shall soon see. He married Agnes, daughter of Henry le Bufle, and had two daughters, who united themselves in marriage to French and German gentlemen of undistinguished families. Le Lignage d'Outremer, p. 239. The Asiatic branch of the Courtenays expired with Joscelyn III.

‡ The Egyptian expedition and its consequences are mentioned by the archbishop of Tyre, 958, 961. Bernardus, 772, &c.: but more fully in the Arabic writers Ben Latir, Abulfeda, Abulfaragius, Benscounah, Bohadin, and Abulmahasan, collected by De Guignes, in the thirteenth book of his history. I have also used the more ample extracts from Ben Latir, in the first volume of the Notices des MSS. du Roi.

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several years had belonged to the Latins, now fell under the dominion of Noureddin. Almeric exerted himself with becoming diligence to recover the Christian affairs from their apparent wreck near Artesia, and surprised and gratified the Franks by redeeming the young prince of Antioch: for Noureddin had in most instances preferred the possession of his captives to the acceptance of the largest ransoms.* After destroying two castles of the French on the borders of Arabia,† Shiracouch wished to execute those ambitious designs into Egypt which his view of its weak state had formed in his mind. Noureddin concerted with him plans for the execution of his projects. Their preparations were extensive, and they disdained not to try the influence of superstition; and, at their request, the caliph of Bagdad summoned the Muselmans of all Syria to chastise the schismatical Fatimites. The Latin States were equally vigorous in completing their military equipments. The cavaliers were fired with the hopes of glory and of conquests, and such persons as could not share the dangers, largely contributed to assist the wants of their warlike compatriots. The

* But Raymond, count of Tripoli, was not released till 1171. His ransom was 80,000 pieces of gold.

† So little satisfied was Almeric with the Templars who guarded one of these castles, that he hanged a dozen of them.

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CHAP. I. views of Almeric were not less ambitious than were those of Noureddin; but the selfishness of the Latin prince was masked by policy, for the augmentation of the general Muselman power, by the junction of the crowns of Aleppo and Egypt, would have been deeply injurious to the Christian interest. The king of Jerusalem marched to Gaza, and reached Pelusium before the army of Shiracouch. The timid and vacillating Shawer heard of his arrival with dread; but when news was brought to him that the Turks had passed the frontier, he treated his nominal allies with friendship, and conducted them to Cairo. Shiracouch soon arrived within ten miles of the camp of the Christians, but in his course over the Syrian desert a storm of tremendous violence had unexpectedly arisen. Most of his camels, and hundreds of his men, were enveloped in an agitated sea of sand, and the feeble remains of his army were therefore unable to cope with the healthy and vigorous Christian troops. Shiracouch recrossed the Nile directly Almeric proposed to march against him; but as his retiring only suspended, without finally removing the danger, the Egyptians wished to renew their former treaties with the Franks, and even to augment the tribute. Two hundred thousand pieces of gold were accordingly paid to the king, and he was promised a

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similar largess upon the condition of his remaining in Egypt till he had annihilated the Turkish force. For the ratification of the treaty on the part of the caliph, Almeric sent the wise Hugh of Cesarea, and Geoffrey Fulk, a knight Templar, to Cairo. Preceded by a band of royal attendants, armed with sabres, the ambassadors walked through several dark passages, at the entrance of each of which stood a troop of Moorish guards, prepared to salute the grand vizier. They then entered into a suite of rooms and colonnades open to the day, exhibiting in a thousand forms and combinations Asiatic elegance and Egyptian magnificence. They beheld with astonishment and rapture marble porticos, carved and gilded ceilings, and tesselated pavements. Their ears were saluted with the warbling of rare birds, and the murmur of fountains, and they beheld animals which were only known to the people of the west by the description of poets. At length they reached the saloon of the caliph. The vizir prostrated himself three times, in outward respect for a power which he did not acknowledge, and a veil, richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones, was withdrawn from the throne. He approached and kissed the hands of the royal slave, acquainted him with the purpose of the Christians' visit, and informed him that he must

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CHAP. I. give his hand to the ambassadors, in pledge of his solemn intention to preserve peace. The ceremonious courtiers, ignorant of the nature of real dignity, implored him not to descend to so humiliating a proceeding. The caliph stretched forth his hand, covered with a glove: but the envoys, not participating in the surrounding civility, refused to take it, alleging as their reason, that their master had given his naked hand to the Fatimite deputy, in token of his assent to the treaty, and that the Muselman prince ought to ratify it by the same forms. The caliph smiled, and yielded to the noble pride of the knight.

In the meanwhile the Turks encamped on the western bank of the Nile opposite Cairo. Almeric endeavoured to cross the river: Shiracouch, however, not only prevented him, but made himself master of the little island of Mahalla, which is the commencement of the Delta. The Franks regained the island, and then effected their passage. Their enemy went southward, and marched incessantly for five days. He was overtaken by Almeric, and the greater part of his forces; with the remainder his generals had garrisoned the fortifications of Cairo, and even the seraglio itself. When the Turks heard of the approach of the Franks, most of the emirs advised an immediate flight

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into Syria: their force, they said, was small, and if defeated, the scattered soldiers would be murdered by the Egyptian peasants. But a mameluk of Noureddin exclaimed, that he who feared the swords of the enemy, ought to quit the service of kings, and be immured in a haram. "Gratitude to Noureddin requires "the sacrifice of our lives, when he commands "us to prevent the infidels from possessing "themselves of Egypt." The courage of the emirs revived, and the cry for battle resounded through the hall of council. A contemporary Arabian writer numbers the Syrian force at only one thousand: but William of Tyre, also a contemporary, says that there were twelve thousand Turks, most of whom were heavily armed, and eleven thousand Arabs who used the lance. The same historian estimates the force of the Franks at a few more than three thousand, with a crowd of cowardly, useless Egyptians, and some lightly-armed Turcople cavalry. The command of the Moslems was given by Shiracouch to his valiant nephew. The ground was uneven, by reason of several hills of sand, which it was the first care of the Syrians to get possession of. Saladin then formed his line of battle, and placed the baggage in the centre, lest it should be pillaged by the peasants. Shiracouch, thinking that the

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CHAP. I. Latins would press upon the centre with all their force, in the expectation of his being at his usual station, gave orders that it should yield; and he placed himself at the right with the bravest part of his army. The prescience of Shiracouch was soon apparent. The attack was made, and succeeded, and the Franks, disappointed that the right wing was not equally penetrable, fell into a brief but fatal confusion. Hugh of Cesarea, who commanded them, was taken prisoner. Night and darkness separated the combatants. To the surprise of the Muselmans, the next morning the Latins marched in quiet order through a little valley between two hills, whereon the Turks were posted, and went to Lamonia; and shortly afterwards returned to Cairo, defeated but not disgraced.

With that promptitude of decision, and rapidity of march, which so frequently aided the Turks more than their evolutions in battle, Shiracouch proceeded to Alexandria, and his boldness terrified the people into a surrender of the city. Almeric, on his part, was equally vigorous. He followed the Curdite prince, and encamped within eight miles of him, intercepted the purveyors of provisions to the people, and stationed a sufficient naval force on the Nile, to prevent the usual communication between Upper and Lower Egypt. Famine began to

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appear in Alexandria, and leaving Saladin to defend it against the Franks, Shiracouch, with one thousand soldiers, passed into the higher provinces; but Almeric, thinking that his intentions were to surprise Cairo, immediately took the road to that city: his march was arrested by a message from an Egyptian emir that the people of Alexandria were prepared to assist him, if he would endeavour to relieve them from Tartarian subjection. Almeric returned, and placed his battering engines against the walls. The Egyptians, seeing the destructive effects of the immense stones which were cast from the military machines of the Latins, thought of driving the soldiers from the city. In the midst of his endeavours, by entreaties and by threats, to quiet the tumult, Shiracouch, laden with booty, arrived in the vicinity. By the medium of his captive, Hugh of Cesarea, the Turk proposed to Almeric that there should be a mutual exchange of prisoners, and that on condition of the road into Syria being opened to the Turks, they would quit Egypt. Accordingly in a few days the standards of Almeric and of Shawer were hoisted on the walls of Alexandria: Saladin and his uncle took the road for Damascus; a Christian was put into Cairo, and the king went to Ascalon.*

* Archb. of Tyre, 961, 974, and the Arabic writers in the

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CHAP. I. 1167.

Peace was never desired by the Turkish powers, except with the view of making additional preparations for war. The treaty between Almeric and Shiracouch was a mere political artifice, and when they returned to their several countries, the subjugation of Egypt alike occupied the mind of each. The natural bounties, and the defenceless state of that land, presented to the eye of ambition an object both worthy and easy of conquest. The Turks and the Christians concealed their selfishness: the one party by censuring the Egyptians for entering into friendship with the enemies of the prophet, and the other party, by pretending that the Egyptians had secretly treated with Noureddin since the departure of the Latins. Manuel Comnenus, the Greek emperor, had lately given his niece in marriage to the king of Jerusalem, and in the intercourse between the monarchs which this festive event occasioned, it was agreed that the imperial navy should aid the land forces of Almeric. The grand master of the Hospitallers had wasted such treasures as were at his command in folly and crime, and therefore urged the war. The majority of his order had as little principle as himself: yet some contended that peace was the object of

13th Book of De Guignes, are my authorities for the interesting events in Syria, in 1167.

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religion, and that the sword should never be drawn by a religious order for purposes of conquest. The Templars refused assistance: we will hope from motives of conscience, and not from jealousy of the superiority of the forces of the knights of St. John. Their reasoning was just, if not sincere, that no act of hostility had been committed by the caliph, and that therefore there was no ground for a hostile course. Almeric had the advantage of Noureddin in point of time, and, heading one of the most numerous armies that had ever been raised in Palestine, he left Jerusalem avowedly for the purpose of taking Hems in Syria. But he suddenly turned to the Egyptian side, crossed the desert, and in ten days arrived at Pelusium. The city was soon stormed and sacked, and so furious were the Christians, that they seemed to be jealous of the Oriental character to inhumanity. Some of the Egyptians sunk into despair, others rose into courage at the cruelty of the Franks. The caliph implored the protection of Noureddin, and so completely had horror triumphed over Asiatic delicacy, that in his letters he inclosed the hair of the women of his seraglio. Shawer raised soldiers in every quarter, and burnt the old town of Foskat, between Pelusium and Cairo, in order to

CHAP. I.

Nov. 1168.

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CHAP. I.

prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. On the road from Pelusium to the capital of Egypt, the Christians were met by the envoys of the vizir, who, knowing the avariciousness of Almeric, requested peace, and offered a million pieces of gold as the price of it. The soldiers anticipated nothing but the pillage of Cairo; but Almeric, blinded by his favourite passion, acquiesced in the proposition, accepted one hundred thousand pieces, and even consented to a cessation of arms, in order that the remainder might be collected from the provincials. By blandishments and artful persuasions, Shawer kept his allies at rest till the armies of Aleppo reached the frontier of Egypt. Enraged at the successful cunning of the vizir, Almeric shook off the demon of avarice: but the moments for action had passed, and he was compelled to make a disgraceful retreat into Syria. His navy also had not received the promised co-operation of imperial ships, and after watching for a short time the entrance of the Nile, it returned to the harbours of Palestine. All the odium of defeat was cast upon the grand master of the Hospitalians. The friends of the king condemned the man against whom indignation had arisen as the squanderer of the treasures of St. John, and the knights

Final defeat of the Latins. February, 1169.

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partook of the general feeling, and deprived him of his titles and honours.*

Shiracouch, the deliverer of Egypt, received such distinguished marks of gratitude from the caliph Adhed, that Shawer was alarmed for the existence of his own authority. In his dark ferocious bosom he revolved the means of securing the person of the successful stranger; but before he could attempt to execute his purposes, he himself was seized by Saladin and his friends, and at the command of the caliph his head was struck off. Shiracouch was then invested with the dignities of grand vizir of Egypt. But he lived only two months in the enjoyment of them. He always styled himself the subject of Noureddin, and his lieutenant in Egypt. Noureddin himself was detained in Syria by a war with some rebellious subjects, and he was too good a politician to throw all his strength on foreign expeditions, while perils surrounded his own dominions. On the death of Shiracouch, the emirs of his army pressed their several claims to the caliph for the lofty and dangerous station. Never had there been so bright an opportunity of reducing the power of the vizir, and the caliph therefore resolved to nominate some individual, whose pretensions were not founded on rank or great success in

* Archb. of Tyre, 978-980. De Guignes, ii. 201-204.

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CHAP. I. arms. Saladin had unwillingly followed his uncle to the wars; he was devoted to love and pleasure, and he was almost devoid of authority in the army. Adhed consequently named him grand vizir. For a while the caliph appeared to be a real sovereign, and the emirs of Shiracouch's army deserted their successful compeer. But some chiefs, and particularly the Curds, were recalled, and Saladin was so bountiful and judicious in his distribution of the treasures which as chief minister he commanded, that he laid the foundation of permanent power. Egypt was now in the hands of the Syrians, and the people of Jerusalem apprehended that the fleets of Damietta would ravage their coasts, and hinder the passage of the pilgrims. They resorted again to their usual resource, the resource when they were no longer able to assist themselves, and dispatched ambassadors to the princes of the west, and to the emperor of Constantinople. The tale of woe was heard in Europe with cold commiseration, and produced no active assistance; but Manuel prepared a considerable navy for the succour of the Franks. The united forces of the Greeks and Latins laid siege to Damietta: but famine, the rains of winter, and, above all, the negligence, and even treason of some of the holy warriors, ren-
Nov. 1169. dered a fifty days' siege ineffectual. They were

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alarmed too by the news that Noureddin was hastening into Egypt, to check a rebellion which some of the nobility of the country had raised against the vizir. The march of the sultan would have been as destructive to the Franks, as serviceable to Saladin: but it was stopped by the general desolation which an earthquake occasioned. Most of the cities in Syria were destroyed, the wretched people of Aleppo took up their abode in the fields, round the ruins of their town, and even the solid walls and towers of Antioch were levelled with the ground. Yet Saladin not only recovered his authority over Egypt, but took from the Christians the towns of Gaza and Darum, two places which were regarded as the keys of the kingdom of Palestine on its Egyptian frontier. On one occasion the Latins violated a treaty of peace, and robbed some merchants; and although Saladin compelled them to renew the treaty, yet they did not return the whole of the plunder.

Termination of the Fatimites of Egypt. 1171.

Noureddin thought that the time was arrived for taking from the Fatimite caliphs the vestige of their spiritual dignity: but his cautious lieutenant dreaded lest a popular insurrection should be excited at so bold a revolution. However, one of his council ascended the oratory before the khatib or general reader, and offered the

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CHAP. I. public prayer in the name of the caliph of Bagdad. No cry of astonishment, no burst of rage and indignation, at this offence to national principles, broke the solemn tranquillity of devotion. In a few days the will of the court spread through the country, and the people silently submitted to the subversion of their altars. Adhed was stretched on the bed of sickness during these transactions; and he died in ignorance of the revolution.* Saladin seized the immense stores of gold and precious stones which the luxurious and magnificent spirit of the Fatimites had amassed. He kept in the seraglio the children of Adhed, and sold his slaves. The important change was soon communicated to Bagdad. The grateful caliph Mosthadi sent a robe of linen and two swords to Saladin, and confirmed him in the title of Noureddin's lieutenant in Egypt. The green silk on the pulpits in Egypt gave way to the black ensigns of the Abassides; and the schism of two hundred years' duration in the Moslem church was healed.

Saladin lord of Egypt.

Elated and arrogant, Saladin began to murmur at his obligation of acknowledging the lordship of Noureddin: and when summoned on some occasion of war to join his standard, he

* There is no foundation for the archbishop of Tyre's assertion that Saladin put him to death.

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declined attendance; and his ambitious spirit appeared in the frivolity of his excuse. Noureddin, in anger at his lieutenant, threatened to march into Egypt and chastise his insubordination. In a council of the emirs, Saladin declared that arms should be taken up if Noureddin attempted to execute his threat. But the father of Saladin stopped the haughty and impetuous youth, and solemnly protested, that so absolute did he consider the power of Noureddin to be, that were he to command the head of Saladin to be cut off, he would not hesitate to sacrifice his own paternal feelings. In moments of privacy, however, Nodgemeddin unfolded his breast to his son. He reproached him for permitting his designs even to be surmised by men who were jealous of his pre-eminence, and ready to betray him. "Noureddin will know all "immediately. Write to him straight, and "prevent his coming by the humility of your "submission." As the old politician apprehended, the Syrian lord was informed of the emirs' deliberations; for, by the means of carrying pigeons, he was quickly made acquainted with every transaction in his vast empire. But an humble letter of Saladin, and the daily hostilities between the Syrians and the Latins, checked his suspicions. CHAP. I.

War continued to rage between the Chris- 1171-1173

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tians and the infidels, but with no decisive issues. Noureddin was also occupied in chastising rebellious princes; and as the design of Saladin to render himself independent became every day more visible, Noureddin resolved to go into Egypt, and take from him the government. But he was seized by a quinsey, and died at Damascus. The strong expression of Abulfeda, that a volume could not contain an enumeration of his virtues, receives some countenance from the manner in which he was spoken of by Christians. The archbishop of Tyre celebrates his justice, his clemency, and religious disposition.* Though the greatest Muselman prince of his age, he was as simple in his dress as the meanest peasant. In his reign the laws were so well administered, that Damascus was crowded with strangers. The public revenues were never distributed by the king except in the presence of the doctors of

Death of Noureddin

* Noureddin had occasion to reduce into good obedience Kilidge Arslan II. the sultan of Iconium; and the first condition in the treaty was, that he should make a new profession of faith; for he was suspected of being attached to the sect of philosophers. Ben Latir, I. 574. I may add, some people thought that he wished to become a Christian; and the Pope wrote him a long letter on the subject, which, if any person be troubled with insomnium, he may read in M. Paris, p. 94, 97. The good Catholics thought, that in consequence of this letter, the sultan was baptized in secret.

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the law; and so small a portion did he reserve for the support of his dignity, that his queen complained of his parsimony. But he replied, "I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate; but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems; these you may take, and these alone I can bestow." In every part of his dominions he built mosques and hospitals, and places of refreshment for travellers. The ascetic, too, might find a convent, and the studious a school. But the most beneficial of all his institutions was a tribunal for the redress of wrongs which emirs and governors had committed on their subjects. Power acknowledged the dignity of genius; for men of learning were so much the objects of his attention, that he arose to meet them, and never required them to observe the Asiatic custom of standing in the presence of their sovereign.*

The death of the Syrian lord was heard of with joy by the Franks. Almeric suddenly marched an army to Paneas. The widow of Noureddin commanded the fortress, and endeavoured to purchase a peace from the king. But, in order to extort a larger sum, he laid vigorous

* D'Herbelot, art. Noureddin.

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siege to the place. After fifteen days, however, of incessant attacks, he abandoned the country, having first accepted the money which the garrison had offered at the commencement. This was the last event of the feeble reign of Almeric. He died on his return to Jerusalem. Avarice had for years been in him a far more powerful passion than ambition. He was cold, selfish, mean, and degenerate. He was less learned than his brother, though his disposition to taciturnity and seriousness was favourable to the acquisition of knowledge. Both kings studied, and, to some extent, practised religion; but as Baldwin was the greater friend of the clergy, his character has descended to posterity in a more lofty strain of panegyric.*

Death of Almeric, July 1173, Æt. 38.

* Archb. of Tyre, 956-7, 981, 995. De Guignes, ii. 205. 211. My "faithful chronicler," William of Tyre, now fails me. A continuation of him to the year 1275 was written in old French, by Hugh Plagon, a man who lived at Rome in the thirteenth century. It is contained in the fifth volume of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. I have found it of the highest value. I have had great aid from the work on the holy wars of Bernard the treasurer. The author flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century; and his book closes with the events of the year 1230. He evidently took a great deal from William of Tyre and other respectable authorities: but he is occasionally original, and never was an abject copyist. The work was originally written in French, and was then translated

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The marriage of Almeric with Agnes de Courtenay gave birth to the seventh monarch of Jerusalem. But Baldwin IV. was a leper: after many struggles with disease, he found that his corporeal infirmities incapacitated him from performing the royal functions; and he committed the government to a French cavalier named Guy de Lusignan, who had married Sybilla, daughter of Almeric, and widow of a lord of the Montserrat family. But the regent had neither talents nor courage for the difficult office: the kingdom was torn with the dissensions of the royal family; and Baldwin summoned his brother-in-law to court, for the purpose of annulling a marriage, which the proud barons declared ought never to have been contracted between a royal heiress and a simple

Baldwin IV.

into Latin by some Italian writer; and in this versification it is contained in the seventh volume of Muratori's Collection of Italian Historians. Another work of a compiler, which, in the dearth of original writers, I have found of use, is that of Marin Sanudo, detto Torsello, a noble Venetian, who lived in the fourteenth century. He made five journeys into Armenia, Syria, Egypt, &c. He was a man of large inquiry, and has given the history, and described the natural, social, and political condition of the countries which he visited. He was fanatically bent on the necessity of a new crusade; he pressed Pope John XXII. to second him: he travelled through Europe; visited the great; explained to them the state of the east; but he could not obtain any assistance.

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CHAP. I. gentleman. But Lusignan failed to appear: the patriarchs and the grand masters interceded for him; but the king would not receive him again to favour; and, by a new act of state, he gave the crown to the infant son of his sister Sybilla and her Italian lord. Raymond II. count of Tripoli, was nominated regent; and, in order to avoid any suspicion of selfishness, he insisted that the custody of the young monarch should be with Joscelyn de Courtenay; that the castles and fortresses of the kingdom should be kept by the two military orders, except the town of Beritus, the revenues of which ought to support the dignity of the regency. The important clause was added, that if Baldwin V. should die in his minority, Raymond was to continue regent till the Pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France, had decided between the rival claims of Sybilla and of Isabella, the daughter of Almeric by Mary his second wife.* Baldwin IV. died within three years after this wise disposition of his kingdom had been made; and his death was quickly followed by that of the infant monarch. The resolutions of the council were forgotten

Nov. 1183. His disposition of his kingdom.

Death of Baldwin IV. and of Baldwin V. Civil strife.

* Archb. of Tyre, 1040, 1043. Cont. of William of Tyre, in Martenne, vol. v. p. 585, &c. Bernardus, c. 145. p. 781. Isabella was at that time married to Humphrey, lord of Thoron.

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in the suggestions of ambition; Joscelyn de Courtenay seized Beritus; the patriarch was the friend of Sybilla; the grand master of the Templars hated the count of Tripoli; and with this co-operation of interests, Sybilla and her husband, Guy de Lusignan, became queen and king of Jerusalem.* The injustice and suddenness of this measure filled the country with amazement. The barons were indignant at this defiance of their power; and as Guy de Lusignan had more of the courtly than the martial virtues, they despised their new sovereign.† They placed their hopes on Humphrey de Thoron; but he pusillanimously declined the honour of the crown of Jerusalem, and Sybilla's genius awed him into submission. Most of the barons then yielded to circumstances, and took the oath

Guy de Lusignan king.

* Bernardus, c. 147. p. 782.

† So despicable was Guy de Lusignan, that his brother Geoffrey was right in saying, "those who made my brother "a king, would have made me a god if they had known me." Guy de Lusignan was despicable for his crimes as well as for his weakness. He had murdered Patric, earl of Salisbury. Henry II. banished him from the English dominions in France, the scene of the murder; the exile assumed the cross, and went to the holy land. Hoveden, p. 514. Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 175. Voltaire, in his tragedy of Zara, has made Lusignan a brave and noble personage; with the same poetical license as Rowe used, when he adorned Tamerlane with every virtue under heaven.

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CHAP. I. of fealty to the new king and queen.* The count of Tripoli still withheld his allegiance; Guy de Lusignan, as violent as he was weak, besieged him in Tiberias; Raymond allied himself with Saladin, and nobly declared that he would not make peace with the usurper till the town of Beritus was restored to himself as regent.† His Muselman allies craved his per-

* Hoveden and some other English writers have recorded a story, that the count of Tripoli and his friends proffered their allegiance to the queen, upon the reasonable condition that she should be divorced from Lusignan, and should chuse such a person for the partner of her throne as would be able to defend the kingdom. To this proposal the queen expressed a ready assent, requiring from the barons in return their oaths that they would acknowledge for sovereign whomsoever she elected. In full expectation that the choice would fall on the powerful count of Tripoli, they subscribed to the terms. A sentence of divorce from Lusignan was easily obtained by the queen; and the ceremony of her coronation took place. After she had been crowned, she put the diadem on the head of Lusignan: she saluted him as her husband, bent the knee to him as king, and cried aloud in a commanding voice and gesture, "those whom "God has joined, man must not separate." The people were imposed upon by the grandeur of the spectacle; and the astonished lords were obliged to submit. But much credit cannot be given to this entertaining story; for it is at total variance with the narratives of Plagon and Coggeshall, who are far better witnesses than Hoveden.

† Bernardus, c. 140, 141.

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mission to pass into the royal territories. The count of Tripoli was divided in his good disposition to the Christians, and his fear of the anger of Saladin; and he endeavoured to reconcile his duties by allowing the Muselmans to cross the Jordan in the morning, and to repass it in the evening. He warned the Christians against quitting their homes during this singular incursion of the Moslems; but the imprudence of the grand Master of the Templars broke the peace. One hundred and forty knights fearlessly attacked seven thousand Muselmans; but only two of the cavaliers survived to repent of their rashness.

Saladin resolves upon the destruction of the Latins. A.D.1186.

At this period the power of Saladin had attained its height, and the hour was come when the Latins were to feel the dreadful effects of the consolidation of the Muselman strength. By the reputation of his talents and military virtues, by policy, by artifice, and also by the dagger (for in those days people saw what was passing, and kept a profound silence), by all these means, Saladin became lord of Syria and Egypt; the names of the sons of Noureddin were obliterated from the coins of the kingdom and the books of the mosque, and the atabeks of Syria sunk into oblivion. In his rise to supreme dominion, he was often obliged to check his master-passion, hatred of the Christians; and

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though, from the death of Almeric to the accession of Guy, the Latin kingdom could not boast perfect peace,* yet the balance of power remained in its usual state, for Saladin's wars in Syria did not allow him to overwhelm the Franks. His love of religious hostilities wanted no stimulus, but the conduct of one of the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem would have driven the most peaceful monarch to war. In the vicissitudes of fortune, Reginald,† lord of

* The wars between Saladin and the Christians, in the reign of Baldwin IV., are not worthy of detail, for they led to no decisive issues. One circumstance, however, should be mentioned. A few hundred of the military orders fearlessly attacked some thousand Muselmans. Only two or three of the valiant band survived the battle. The bravery of the troop was so heroic as to receive the admiration of the enemy. Some of the knights, after having lost their swords, threw themselves on the foe, and fought with their fists. Others drew the Saracenian arrows from their bodies, and hurled them at the foe. One of the Templars, named James de Maille, mounted on a white horse, fought so nobly, that the Saracens called him St. George, and, after the battle, they hung over him with respect, and even drank his blood, thinking they could thereby acquire his courage. Coggeshall, p. 547, 552. Hist. Hieros. in Bongarsius, p. 1151. The last-quoted historian adds a circumstance, which, if Mr. Burke had known of, he certainly would have introduced into his opening speech on Hastings's impeachment, as a beautiful counterpart to a well-known delicate tale he told on that occasion.

† The previous history of Reginald will be found in a subsequent page, when the general history of Antioch is detailed.

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Antioch, had recovered his liberty, but he again found himself a soldier of chance, for Constantia was dead, and her son had taken the reins of government. His superficial accomplishments once more found their admirers: the lady of Karac and Montreal gave him her hand and barony; and thus by his first and his third marriage he became a powerful lord on the Arabian frontiers of Palestine. But, in contempt of all existing treaties of peace between the nations, Reginald incessantly plundered and devastated the Moslem states. Saladin called for redress from the court of Jerusalem, but the government was too feeble to chastise a powerful ruffian, and in revenge the Moslems seized as prisoners fifteen hundred pilgrims, who had been shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast. But Reginald was unchanged; he intercepted the caravans between India and Egypt, and even advanced to the valley of Rabid, within ten miles from Medina.* The sacrilegious designs and ceaseless robberies of the lord of Karac inflamed the anger of Saladin to madness, and he swore by God and his prophet that he would retort the aggressions, and plunge his sword

I have avoided much confusion and obscurity by arranging and classifying events: and the present case is almost the only one where that mode of writing has been attended with inconvenience.

* Abulfeda, iv. 53.

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CHAP. I. 1187. into the heart of the infidel dog. When tranquillity succeeded fierce civil discord, Saladin summoned his Turks to his standard, and fifty thousand horse, and a multitude of foot soldiers, heard with joy their leader's intention to capture Jerusalem itself. After some vicissitudes of war, he removed the seat of hostility to the castle of Tiberias, which was at that time the residence of the wife of the count of Tripoli. As soon as the Muselman storm began to blacken the horizon of the Christians, the magnanimous Raymond forgot the injustice of Lusignan, and devoted himself to the general good. When the news of the siege of Tiberias reached Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli declared that he would willingly suffer his city to become the prey to the Muselmans, and advised the king to adhere to the tactics of defensive war, and in time the Saracenian army would be dissolved, by reason of the want of water and provisions. But the grand master of the Templars persuaded the feeble Lusignan that there was treachery veiled under this apparent disinterestedness, and accordingly it was resolved that arms should be opposed by arms. Many of the towns were drained of their soldiers, and popular impatience co-operated with the precipitancy of the monarch. Every breast beat high with the noble thought of exterminating

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the Muselmans, and prudence never whispered that there was danger in placing the fortunes of the kingdom on the event of a single battle. Saladin was encamped near the lake of Tiberias, and the Christians hastened to encounter him. But they soon experienced those evils, from heat and thirst, which the count of Tripoli had prophecied would be the fate of their foes if the Christians remained at rest. In the plain near Tiberias the two armies met in conflict. For a whole day the engagement was in suspence, and at night the Latins retired to some rocks, whose desolation and want of water had compelled them to try the fortune of a battle. The heat of a Syrian summer's night was rendered doubly horrid, because the Saracens set fire to some woods which surrounded the Christian camp. In the morning the two armies were for a while stationary, in seeming consciousness that the fate of the Moslem and the Christian worlds was in their hands. But when the sun arose, the Latins uttered their shout of war, the Turks answered by the clangor of their trumpets and atabals, and the sanguinary tumult began. The bishops and clergy were, according to custom, the nourishers of martial virtue. They ran through the ranks, cheering the soldiers of the church militant. The piece of the true cross was placed on an hillock, and

July 1187. Eventful battle of Tiberias.

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the broken squadrons continually rallied round it. Piety was equally efficacious on the minds of the Muselmans, and the Saracenian hatred of infidels was enkindled by the religious enthusiasm of the Christians. The crescent had more numerous supporters than the cross, and for that reason triumphed. The battle ended in the massacre of the Latins. They who fell in the field were few in number, when compared with those who were slain in the flight, or were hurled from the precipices. The fragment of holy wood was taken from the hands of the bishop of Acre. The king, the master of the Templars, and the marquis of Montserrat, were captured. The chief of the Hospitalians fled as far as Ascalon, and then died of his wounds.*

Cruelty of Saladin.

In the time of the Crusades, clemency to the vanquished was not the virtue of Christians, and it has in no age been the quality of the Moslems. The valour of the Templars and Hospitalians should have been respected by the

* Herold, ch. vi. Neub. lib. iii. cap. xvi. xvii. and xviii. Bohadin, ch. xxxv. Matthew Paris, James de Vitry, and the anonymous author of the history of Jerusalem, at the end of the first volume of the Gesta Dei per Francos, speak in very general terms of this eventful battle. One of the Templars, in a letter which is preserved in Hoveden, p. 637, estimates the loss of the Christians at thirty thousand!! But there were only twelve hundred loricati and twenty thousand foot soldiers engaged. James de Vitry, p. 1118.

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brave and victorious Muselman; but he hated them, because he had feared them, and death, or conversion to Islamism, was the only choice which he offered to such of the knights as had been made prisoners. On this dreadful occasion, no selfish and secular considerations obstructed the principles of virtue; the religious heroism of the cavaliers equalled their military firmness, and all of them shewed, by their manner of dying, the sincerity of their professions.* The king and nobility anticipated the choice of apostacy or martyrdom; but Saladin presented a cup of ice water to Lusignan, and by that act of hospitality assured him of his life. The king wished to pass the vessel to Reginald, lord of Karac: but Saladin declared that the violator of truces deserved no mercy, and that in retribution for the attack which he had meditated upon the holy cities in Arabia, he must die, or renounce his religion. His death was more honourable than his life; virtue had been stifled, but not totally extinguished in the breast of Chatillon; and at this fatal moment he shone a religious hero,

* It appears, from the letter cited in the last note, that two hundred and thirty Templars were killed by Saladin after the battle of Tiberias. The number of the Hospitalian heroes I cannot find.

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and avowed that no Christian should preserve his existence on base conditions. The scimitar of the Muselman severed his head from his body. No more blood was shed, but the vanquished king and nobility were detained as prisoners till their ransom should be agreed upon.*

Consequences of the battle of Tiberias.

After having offered thanks to God and his prophet for the victory at Tiberias, Saladin began to reap the consequences. Acre, Jaffa, Cesarea, and Beritus, had been drained of their garrisons, and therefore yielded to him. Tiberias, the immediate occasion of the battle, also fell, and the heroes of Asia encompassed Tyre. The citizens were prepared to deliver the keys to Saladin; but the bravery of a young cavalier revived their noble spirit. Conrad,† a son of William III. marquis of Montserrat, was one of the most adventurous knights of the day. His services at Constantinople, in quelling a rebellion, had been rewarded by the hand of the emperor's sister; but he quickly left the palaces of luxury for the theatre of honour. Before his arrival in Palestine, the Muselmans had triumphed near Tiberias, and Conrad heard that

* D'Herbelot, art. Salaheddin, vol. iii. p. 177.

† Conrad and the husband of Sybilla, mentioned in p. 32, were brothers.

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in the general wreck of the Christian affairs his father had fallen into the hands of Saladin. He repaired to Tyre, and his bold attitude checked the Turks, who withdrew to the more important city of Ascalon. In the anxiety of doubt Saladin was cruel; but when success was certain, he was generally merciful. He offered peace to the Ascalonians; but they cried that they cared not for their own lives: it was only the state of their children, and of the king of Jerusalem, that they regarded. Saladin was affected by their disinterestedness; he took them under his protection, and promised soon to set the king at liberty.

Jerusalem became the refuge for such of the Christians as had escaped the swords or the chains of the Turks. One hundred thousand people are said to have been in the place; but so few were the soldiers, and so feeble was the government of the queen, that the holy city was no object of terror. Saladin declared his unwillingness to stain with human blood a spot which even the Turks held in reverence, as having been sanctified by the presence of many of God's messengers. He offered the people, on condition of the surrender of the city, money and settlements in Syria. Prudence suggested the acceptance of this offer, but, clinging to that feeling of superstition which had given birth to

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CHAP. I. the holy wars, the Christians declared that they would not resign to the infidels the place where the Saviour had died. Saladin was indignant at this rejection of his kindness, and swore to enter the place sword in hand, and retaliate the dreadful carnage which the Franks had made in the days of Godfrey of Bouillon. The people cast their eyes on Balean of Ibelin as their commander. The veteran organized the forces, and put arms into the hands of the citizens. So great was the enthusiasm, that the clergy contributed the golden ornaments of the churches, which were all carried to the mint, and converted into money. Saladin attacked the western and then the northern sides of the walls. During fourteen days there were various engagements; but the Christians, though brave to desperation, could never destroy the military engines of the Muselmans. The conflicts were dreadful; every one fearlessly exposed his life, because the Moslem fanatics were conscious that if they died they should instantly drink of the waters of Paradise, and because the Christians were happy in exchanging an earthly for a heavenly Jerusalem. At the end of fourteen days the Latins discovered that the walls near the gate of St. Stephen's were undermined. From that moment the defence of the city was abandoned; the clergy prayed for the miracu-

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lous protection of heaven, the soldiers threw down their arms, and crowded into the churches. The consternation was augmented by the discovery of a correspondence between some Greeks that were in the place and the Muselmans. The Latins then recollected the proffered clemency of Saladin, and a deputation of them implored a renewal of it. But he urged the force of the oath which he had taken, and that it was ridiculous to capitulate for a fallen town. But, said he, if you will surrender the city to me, I will behave to you with mercy, and allow you to redeem the inhabitants. After some deliberation, the Christians resolved to trust the generosity of the conqueror. Saladin stipulated that the military and nobles should be escorted to Tyre, and that the Latin population should become slaves, if they were not ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for a man, five for a woman, and one for a child.*

Oct. 1187. Recapture of Jerusalem.

After four days had been consumed by the miserable inhabitants in weeping over and embracing the holy sepulchre and other sacred places, the Latins left the city, and passed through the enemy's camp. Children of all ages clung round their mothers, and the strength

* Bernardus, 795, &c. Continuation of William, 612, &c.

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of the fathers was used in bearing away some little portion of their household furniture. In solemn procession, the clergy, the queen, and her retinue of ladies followed. Saladin advanced to meet them, and his heart melted with compassion, when they approached him in the attitude and with the air of suppliants. The softened warrior uttered some words of pity, and the women, encouraged by his sympathising tenderness, declared that one word of his would remove their distress. "Our fortunes and "possessions," they continued, "you may "freely enjoy; but restore to us our fathers "our husbands, and our brothers. With these "dear objects we cannot be entirely miserable. "They will take care of us, and that God "whom we reverence, and who provides for the "birds of the air, will not forget our children."

Saladin's humanity.

It is the generous remark of an enemy, that Saladin was in nothing a barbarian but in name. With courteous clemency he released all the prisoners whom the women requested, and loaded them with presents. This action, worthy of a gentle and Christian knight, was not the consequence of a transient feeling of humanity; for when he entered the city of Jerusalem, and heard of the tender care with which the military friars of St. John treated the sick, he

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allowed ten of the order to remain in the hospital till they could complete their work of humanity.*

The infidels were once more established in Jerusalem. The great cross was taken down from the church of the sepulchre, and for two days dragged through the mire of the streets. The bells of the churches were melted, and the floors and walls of the mosque of Omar were purified with Damascene rose-water. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered to Heaven for the victory; all individual merit was forgotten, and the conquest of Jerusalem was attributed to the bounty of God, and his desire for the universal influence of Islamism.† Ascalon, Laodicea, Gabala, Sidon, Nazareth, Bethlehem, all those places and their territories, fell when their great support was gone, and Tyre was almost the only town of consequence which

* Bernardus, p. 801. Contin. William of Tyre, p. 618, &c. Bened. p. 485. In consequence of pecuniary redemption, and Saladin's generosity to Ibelin and other barons, only a few thousand people remained prisoners. Many of the Christians who left Jerusalem went to Antioch: but Bohemond not only denied them hospitality, but even stripped them. They marched into the Saracenian country, and were well received.

† Bernardus, p. 801. Nubridge, lib. 3. c. 18. Bohadan, ch. 36, and two letters of the knights Templars in Palestine to their friends in Europe, in Hoveden, p. 637, 645.

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CHAP. I. remained to the Christians.* Though the metropolis of the Latin kingdom was lost, all was not lost, and the defence of Tyre presents some interesting scenes. Saladin again prepared to level the city with the ground, and was again opposed by the valiant Conrad. The Tyrians felt the indissoluble union subsisting between the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection, and bound themselves, in the event of success, to acknowledge the young prince of Montferrat as their chief. A few military friars organized and disciplined the volunteers; all the inhabitants took arms, and even the women shot arrows from the walls, or assisted the operations of their husbands. Saladin cast immense stones into the town, and attacked it with all his efforts,† but the spirit of freedom triumphed over the thirst of conquest, and the Muselmans were necessitated to raise the siege. Some time after the capitulation of Ascalon,

* Coggeshall Chron. in Martenne, V. 812. Bohadin. cap. 42, &c.

† It is said that during the siege, Saladin caused Conrad's father to be drawn before the walls, and proclaimed that the old man's head should be taken off. But Conrad told the herald that Saladin could not, without the utmost danger to himself, put a prisoner of war to death who had surrendered on his parole.

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Guy de Lusignan, the grand master of the Templars, and others, obtained their liberty: and the husband of Sybilla solemnly renounced to Saladin his title to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The unprincipled Guy took the road for Tyre, and announced his resolve to enter the city as sovereign lord. But the people, more indignant at his cowardice than his perfidy, declared that the prince of the town should be the man who had so nobly preserved its independence. The knights of St. John supported the young cavalier: and it was in vain that the grand master of the Templars, who adhered to his miserable friend, made a vehement resistance to the pretensions of Conrad.* CHAP. I.

The valour of the citizens of Tripoli checked the victorious Saladin, and the Moslem hero went to the more easy subjugation of the Antiochian states (whose history I shall presently relate), when he heard of the approach to the shores of Palestine of the king of Sicily, who was the first monarch of the west that flew to arms when the direful news reached Europe of the catastrophe at Tiberias. The count of Tripoli.

* Bernardus, p. 801, &c. Neub. lib. 3. c. 19. Diceto, 642. The naval forces of the Tyrians and Pisans attacked Azotus in the year 1188. The Arabic emir was taken, and Conrad exchanged him for the old marquis, who died soon afterwards.

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CHAP. I.

Tripoli died, and with him ceased the dynasty in the east of Raymond count of Tholouse. Raymond II. died childless, and he bestowed his county on his godson, Raymond III., son of Bohemond III. prince of Antioch.*

History of Antioch in the interval of the second and third Crusade. 1149.

Antioch was the state which principally suffered in consequence of the fall of Edessa. The Turks could cross the Euphrates without opposition. The warlike Raymond of Poitiers lost his life in attempting to resist Noureddin; the strong fortress of Apamea yielded to the Muselman, and happily the rivalry of some Syrian Atabeks called him from his career of victory. Raymond's widow, Constantia, disdained for awhile the authoritative advice of the barons of Palestine, to associate with herself in marriage some potent lord, for the better government of Antioch during the minority of her son; but three years after the death of her first lord, she elected for her husband Reginald de Chatillon, lord of Karac and Montreal.† The new regent conciliated the Pisans by giving them a settlement in Laodicea, and renewing

* See note L.

† The archbishop of Tyre (p. 926) is very severe on the pretensions of Reginald. He upbraids him with being a mere soldier of fortune; but he certainly was of the respectable family of the lords of Chatillon sur Marne. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, &c. 1. 445.

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their privileges in Antioch.* In expectation of a liberal reward from Manuel, Reginald reduced Toros, prince of Armenia and Cilicia, to subjection. But as the emperor failed in his promises, the prince of Antioch, with more anger than wisdom, sailed to Cyprus, and plundered the imperial states. Manuel did not succumb with tameness to this insult: he led a large army into Antioch; Reginald was compelled to submit to the consequences of indiscretion, and with a halter round his neck he gave his sword to the emperor. Peace was granted to him, and the Grecian force returned to Constantinople. Reginald then directed his arms against the Turks; but after some successes, his imprudence and cupidity made him fall into an ambuscade, and he was conducted prisoner to Aleppo. In 1163, Bohemond the third was acknowledged lord of Antioch: but his personal vices, and political profligacy, were deeply injurious to the Christians. He had strengthened his house by marrying his sister Mary to the emperor Manuel, whose

CHAP. I.

November, 1160.

* The Pisans seem always to have been the great supporters of the Antiochian and Tripolitan states; if any conclusions may be drawn from the great privileges which the princes of Antioch and Tripoli were continually making to them. See the charters in Muratori, Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi, Dissert. 30.

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CHAP. I. wife Irene had died, and by marrying Irene or Theodora, the niece of his brother-in-law. But about the year 1181 (not more than a twelve-month after the second marriage) he banished his wife and infant child, and married another woman, and his irregular conduct deserved and received the censures of the church. His own patriarch excommunicated him; in return he confiscated the estates of the prelate and his suffragans; and, disgusted and alarmed at the war between church and state, the respectable inhabitants of Antioch emigrated. But by the wise and benevolent interposition of the different authorities of Jerusalem, peace was restored. The nobles of Antioch returned; and the dignity of the church was preserved by the agreement, that although the functions of the civil and ecclesiastical magistrates should be performed, yet the personal excommunication of Bohemond should continue till he recalled his second wife.*

After the fall of Jerusalem, Saladin carried his conquering army into the principality of Antioch. Five and twenty towns submitted, and Antioch itself became tributary to the Muselmans.†

* Archb. of Tyre, 1019, &c.

† Sanutus, lib. 3. pars. 9. cap. 9. Bohadin, cap. 46, &c.

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CHAP. I.

Retrospect.

The victories of Saladin, and the loss of Jerusalem, were melancholy contrasts to those hopes of the triumph of Christianity over Islamism which the council of Clermont had held out to Europe. In the eighty-eight years that the Crusaders possessed the holy city, peace seldom dwelt about her walls: surrounded by numerous hostile nations, she was in a continual siege; and as great a number of her wars were undertaken for the maintenance of her existence, as for the purposes of conquest. In the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, Asia was in a state of more than usual imbecility. The Arabian and Tartarian storms were spent, the caliphs were pontiffs rather than sovereign princes, and the great empire of their predecessors was dismembered and scattered. But states which are formed by arms, not by policy, are as quick in their rise as rapid in their decay, and ruin and disorder are the scenes of ambition. The passions and abilities of the enterprising lords of Syria raised several powerful governments: the hostile aspect of the Moslems increased in terror, when the imperial and royal crowns of Germany and France were broken; and the crescent triumphed over the cross when Saladin united and led the Muselman nations to the conquest of Jerusalem.* In strength of body,

* The archbishop of Tyre states the consolidation of the

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CHAP. I. and personal and military prowess, the Turks and the franks were equal;* but the Turks

Muhammedan powers as a great cause of the overthrow of the Christians, p. 1001.

* Among the causes of the superiority of the Turks over the Latins, in the decline of the kingdom, James de Vitry mentions the improvement of the Muselmans in military equipments. He says, that when the Latins first invaded Palestine, the Saracens were unskilful in battle, and knew only the use of the bow; but that, in the course of time, they acquired Latin discipline and the Latin mode of fighting, with swords, lances, &c. p. 1115, 1116, in Bongarsius. These assertions are in direct contradiction to the statement of that excellent historian, Albert of Aix, who, in describing the preliminaries to the battle of Doryleum, mentions the armour and shields of the Turks, and according to him, the archers preceded the heavily armed troops precisely in the Francic fashion. Lib. ii. c. xxvii. p. 206. It cannot, however, be supposed, that the weapons and modes of warfare of the Asiatic soldiers precisely assimilated to the European forms: though it is likely that offensive and defensive armour perpetually varied, and that each of the hostile nations adopted many of the ideas of the other. But a perusal of the historians of the crusades will leave an impression on the mind, that, however varied might have been the minute alterations, yet that the general character of the arms of the respective combatants was different; that the Latins were heavily armed, and chiefly trusted for success to the force and weight of their charge; and that the Turks had lighter arms, and confided in the celerity of their evolutions. The first Crusaders had more enthusiasm, but less discipline, than the last: for there is no doubt that the art of war improved among Christians as time advanced. The atabeks, Zenghi and Noureddin, Shirucouch and Saladin, were far greater generals than Kilidge Arslan and Kerboga, and their superiority had, of course, great weight in events.

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were in multitudes; the Franks were few,* and as the twelfth century was an age of war rather than of policy, the Latins did not by intellectual superiority raise themselves above their enemies. The Christians scrupled not to break treaties† with the Muselmans: they

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* An account of the military force of the kingdom of Jerusalem has been already given, p. 316, ante. The state was occasionally assisted by new volunteers from Europe. "The "vow which brought them to the Holy Land was generally for a "limited time, at the conclusion of which they were always "impatient to depart. Their armies broke up at the most cri- "tical conjunctures, as it was not the necessity of the service, "but the extent of their vows, which held them together. As "soon, therefore, as they habituated themselves to the country, "and attained some experience, they were gone, and new men "supplied their places, to acquire experience by the same mis- "fortunes, and to lose it by the same inconstancy." Burke's Abridgment of English History. Burke's Works, vol. x. p. 493, 8vo. edit.

† It was impossible that any respect could be entertained for people like the Latins, who were not only cruel invaders and sanguinary persecutors, but common robbers. At one time Baldwin III. gave the Muselmans liberty of pasturage round Paneas. As soon as the ground was covered with flocks of sheep, the Christian soldiers broke into the country, carried away the animals, and murdered their keepers. Archb. of Tyre, lib. xviii. cap. cxii. The principle of not keeping faith with infidels, seems consequent on a dogma in the Decretals. "Juramen- "tum contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam præstitum non tenet." Tancred and St. Louis were almost the only two eminent Crusaders who distinguished themselves for preferring honesty and truth to utility and convenience.

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CHAP. I. never attempted to conciliate the foe, or to live in terms of large and liberal intercourse. Except in the case of Egypt, they allowed the Saracenian nations to unite without making any endeavour to break their force, and they were too proud and too ignorant to win any members to their cause, from the great confederacy of Atabeks. Conciliation could only be the result of weakness; a tender pitying forbearance of error was held a criminal indifference by armed saints. The Moslem contempt of infidels was not more sincere than was the hatred which the Christians felt for the supposed enemies of God. The mere possession by the Muselmans of the land where the Son of Heaven had lived and died, was a crime in the eyes of the faithful; and prescription, the soundest and most solid title that is known in public jurisprudence, was despised by fanaticism. The people of the east were Moslems, the people of the west were Christians; and the difference of religion blotted out and cancelled all the rights both of nature and society.

The early writers accounted for the evanescence of the Francic state in Palestine, on the false principle, that worldly prosperity is always the reward of virtue, and that vice is never triumphant. The wrath of heaven, they say, visited the crimes of the Croises; and those

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crimes were so enormous, that a description of them would appear more like a satire than a history. Vice, both in her horrid and her alluring forms, it is affirmed, disgraced the kingdom; and we know not whether to admire most, the declaration of one author,* that the clergy were as depraved as the laity, or to take as another test the singular assertion of an equally grave and eminent historian,† that there was not one chaste woman in Palestine. But whatever might have been the state of morals, although vice was perhaps more prevalent than virtue, although orien-

* Jacob de Vitry. Amidst the general declamations of this worthy Author against vice, I observe some circumstances which made the state of crime peculiarly deplorable. Palestine was the refuge of the abandoned and profligate people of Europe. Justice appears to have been wretchedly administered in the Holy Land. After the commission of crimes, people fled from the Christian settlements into the Muhammedan states, and purchased impunity by apostacy. J. de Vitry, p. 1097. I do not think that the manners of the Christians were more corrupt at the close, than at the commencement of the kingdom. In the year 1120, the state was under the affliction of its granaries being devoured by locusts and rats. The political economists thought that this event was the judgment of God on the horrible sins of his people. A council was held at Naplousa, and if the state of morals can be judged of from the code of laws then promulgated, vice must have reached its maturity of corruption. See p. 339, note, ante.

† Archb. of Tyre.

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CHAP. I. tal luxury had spread its soft infection, still the history of the first Crusaders shews that the holy sepulchre was redeemed, notwithstanding its champions were utterly unworthy of vindicating its cause; and that, whether in excess or in famine, in profligacy or in holiness, the valour of the martial pilgrims was triumphant. Some other causes must be sought for. The greatness of the power of Saladin has been mentioned. It was the want of union rather than the want of moral virtue, that accelerated the ruin of the Christian kingdom. The evils of the aristocratical nature of the feudal system were experienced; and when the French barons returned to Europe after the failure before Damascus, they stated with truth that the divisions among the Latin princes were one great cause of the Muselmans' success. Civil disensions among the lords of Palestine paralysed the Christian power.*

The turbulence and ambition of the barons frequently thwarted the general good; but the greatest evils resulted from the altercations of

* Bayle's observation on the failure of the crusade of Thibaud V. count of Champagne, is a good one: "Par les raisons "ordinaires, c'est à dire par la mauvaise intelligence des princes "croisés, cette expédition n'aboutit à rien."—Bayle, art. Thibaut.

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the Hospitallers with the priesthood, and from the mutual jealousy between the two chief military orders On a former occasion it has been stated, that on account of their martial services, the Papal See granted various privileges to the knights of St. John. Considering that the Hospitallers employed their fortunes for the maintenance of the poor, and the entertainment of pilgrims, the Pope dispensed with their paying tithes to the church. He prohibited the patriarch from publishing any sentence of interdict or excommunication against them; and they were not to regard any general interdict on the countries wherein their preceptories might be situated. By these means the church of the Hospitallers was perfectly independent of the church of Jerusalem. Perpetual disputes occurred respecting the interference of jurisdiction, and it was the great complaint of the patriarch, that the Hospitallers received men into their communion whom the church had excommunicated.* Rome was made the court for the settlement of these altercations. CHAP. I. A.D.1155.

* The archbishop of Tyre (p. 932, &c.) is the only original writer who mentions these disputes. As may be expected, he took the side of the church, and does not tell us the case of the Hospitallers. A detail of the disputes is not a desideratum. The marking of the existence of the *imperium in imperio* is the great matter.

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CHAP. I. Most of the bishops of Palestine appeared, and pleaded what they termed the cause of religion, and called upon the Pope to grant them tithes, and to restore the primitive discipline of the church. Only two of the cardinals were disposed to rescind the papal decrees; and it was clear to the rest that there was no sufficient reason for weakening the papal authority over the military knights, by putting them also under episcopal jurisdiction. The subject was indefinitely adjourned, and the disputants returned to Palestine.

We have marked, as one sign of ruin in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the dissensions between the church and the knights of St. John. But much more pregnant with evil were the dissensions between those knights and the Templars. Every event in the military history of the Latin kingdom had shewn how valuable to the Christian cause had been the military friars and the red cross knights. Those warriors were the flower of Christendom, and the exactness of their discipline held in subordination the numerous mercenary troops whom their immense wealth enabled them to support. In the infancy of those societies, a generous emulation prompted them to deeds of heroism; but in the course of time, the fine spirit of their institution became mingled with worldly views, and a

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noble jealousy of pre-eminence in danger degenerated into personal malice and hatred. As the knights were the allies, and not the subjects of the king, no war was undertaken and no battle was fought, without their concurrence. But as each division of knights was independent of the other, there were endless altercations about precedency in council and situation in the field. The disputes became known, and were general throughout Christendom, for there was scarcely a noble family that had not some of its members in one of those societies. Every eye was turned to the papal court for the arbitration of their disputes. Alexander III. declared that the bond of charity ought to unite Christians of every denomination. By his influence, a treaty of peace was signed between the two orders. But the Pope could not remove the great causes of dispute, ambition and avarice, and therefore dissatisfaction slept in the thin ashes of a seeming friendship.

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CHAP. II.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Effects in Europe of the failure of the second Crusade—Louis VII. of France, and Henry II. of England, encourage holy wars—Envoys from Palestine visit France and England—Sensation in Europe made by the battle of Tiberias—The Troubadours—Germany arms—Philip Augustus and Henry II. take the cross—Saladin tythe—Richard Cœur de Lion resolves on a Crusade—March of the French and English—Crusade of the Germans—Death of the emperor Barbarossa—Formation of the Teutonic Order—Events in Palestine after the loss of Jerusalem—Siege of Acre—Richard's course from Marseilles to Sicily—Occurrences in Sicily—The French sail to Acre—Departure of Richard—He subjugates Cyprus—He sets sail for Acre—His cruelty.

CHAP. II.

Effects of the failure of the second Crusade.

EUROPE rang with invectives against the holy Bernard, when the thousands of men whom his eloquence and miracles had roused to arms perished in the rocks of Cilicia. A general or a statesman would have pointed out errors in the policy or conduct of the Crusaders; but the

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preacher sheltered himself under the usual defence of impostors, and declared that the sins of the people had merited divine punishment, and that the men of his day resembled in morals the Hebrews of old, who perished in the journey from Egypt to the promised land.* This language was justly felt to be cruel and insulting: it did not exculpate the saint in the opinion of the world, and the nations of the West were not again disposed to make religious wars the common concern of Christendom. Often indeed† both fanatical and saturnine spirits fancied that Crusades were the only road to celestial favour:‡ in other cases softer feelings and gentler

* For some remarks of Bayle and Jortin on the conduct of St. Bernard, see note **M.**

† After the first conquest of the Holy Land, individuals and parties of people continually went thither from Europe. There were vessels of conveyance at most seaports, bearing on their sterns a flag with a red cross upon it. From motives of safety the ships commonly sailed in fleets, and for general convenience two periods of sailing were fixed—March and June. The summer passage was preferred, for the archbishop of Tyre speaks of the autumn as the time when pilgrims generally reached the holy land, p. 808.

‡ M. Paris relates a story of one Godric of Finchale, who travelled to Jerusalem, eating only bread and drinking only water, and arrived at the holy city without having once changed his clothes. He performed the usual course of prayers and genuflexions in the Temple, and then enjoyed a luxurious wash in the Jordan. On coming forth from those celebrated waters

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principles excited that courage which stern religion had failed to rouse; for in days of chivalry, when "lovers' heaven" could only be reached by "sorrows' hell" the knight sometimes performed his penance, and proved his fealty in breaking a lance with the Saracens.* But popes and councils in vain attempted the insurrection of nations. The disastrous issues of the second Crusade were fresh in the minds of the people of Europe; the cypress was generally, they thought, twined with the laurel in Palestine, and public opinion no longer fixed a mark of cowardice and pusillanimity on those who did not hasten to the sacred banners. In the third council of the Lateran, which met twenty years after the return to Europe of Louis and Conrad, the policy of king Almeric was applauded; Egypt was more dreaded than Syria, and the possession of Damietta was held out as the object to which all the efforts of the Christians should tend.†

he cast off his shoes, and exclaimed, "O God, who formerly "walked with naked feet on this land, and permitted them to "be pierced for my sake, I vow never again to wear shoes." He then, continues the historian, walked back to England.

* The reader, after having made a slight change in the two following lines of Shakespeare, can apply them to the present subject.—

"I know a lady in Venice would have walk'd
"Barefoot to Palestine, for a touch of his nether lip."

† Among the causes of the first Crusade we mentioned the

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The clergy called on the world to arm: but the recollection of misery was too fresh, and the decrees of the council were heard of with sullenness and discontent. Louis, however, always cherished the hope of returning to the Holy Land,* and of reviving his faded glory: and at length he found his wishes met by a brother sovereign. Since virtue was his policy as well as his duty, Henry II., in the height of his disputes with Thomas à Becket, had professed great sanctity, and following the example of the French king,† he and his barons commanded that for one year a tax of twopence, and for four subsequent years a tax of a penny in the pound, should be levied on the moveables of the people of England.‡ Among the deeds of virtue which washed from Henry

Louis VII. of France and Henry II. of England encourage holy wars.

influence of the spirit of commerce on the love of pilgrimages. That spirit was afterwards mingled with the desire of conquest, particularly in the case of the Egyptian politics. Situated between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, Egypt was the communication between Europe and the Indies: and the possession of that country would have rendered the Europeans masters of commerce.

* Bouquet, iv. 457.

† Louis VII. had taxed his people for the second Crusade.

‡ Gervas, col. 1399. In the year 1166, Henry II. sent money to the Holy Land. Triveti Annales, p. 108. This last quoted writer is of but little use in the Crusades. He has not done much more than abridge Vinesauf.

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CHAP. II. the guilt of Becket's murder was the supporting of two hundred knights Templars in Palestine for a year, and an agreement with the Pope to go and fight the infidels in Asia, or in Spain, for thrice that time, if his holiness should require it.* In the year 1177, Henry and Louis agreed to travel together to the Holy Land.† But the English monarch was prudent and fond of peace, and the illness and subsequent death of the French king terminated the project.

The count of Tripoli, while regent of Jerusalem, endeavoured to strengthen his kingdom by new draughts of men from Europe. The importance of the embassy which he sent to the west was apparent from the dignity of the legates, for they were the patriarch of Jerusalem and the grand masters of the Templars and Hospitallers. In the case of the patriarch, the dignity of his office rather than his moral character, was consulted. His haughtiness of temper, and his imperious passions, totally disqualified him from the office of mediator, and he was despised by the religious part of the world for associating with a woman, who, on account of the pride of her deportment, was generally known by the title of the patriarchess.‡ The

* Hoveden, p. 529. † Bromton, col. 1134.

‡ Sanatus, p. 172. Bernardus, 779. Bayle (Dict. art.

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ambassadors arrived in Italy, and found the emperor Frederic Barbarossa and the Pope at Verona. His imperial majesty did not yet aspire to religious glory, and his holiness assured them he would recommend the Crusade to the kings of France and England. The grand master of the Templars died in Italy, and the two remaining legates proceeded to Paris. They offered the keys of the holy city and the sepulchre to Philip Augustus, but France was at that time at war with the Flemings, and the council of the young monarch would not listen to projects of Asiatic conquests. The kiss of peace, and a promise of maintenance to such of his subjects as should assume the cross, were all that the ambassadors received from the French king. Their greatest hopes rested upon England, and on their arrival there they met with the deepest respect. But the Parliament knew and echoed the opinion of the monarch that it would be wiser and better for him to remain at home and defend his own kingdom, than afford his personal aid to the Latins in Palestine. The king, however, was advised to consult with Philip Augustus on the propriety of a Crusade. Henry granted his li- CHAP. II.

Heraclius) is incorrect in desiring us to distinguish the amatory patriarch from him who was ambassador to Europe. There was but one patriarch of that name.

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CHAP. II. cense to all his subjects for waging war with the infidels; but the patriarch was indignant at this deliberation and caution, and demanded from the monarch the presence of one of his sons at the head of an army. The request was congenial with the wishes of prince John; but his father refused; and Heraclius outraged decency in expressing his indignation. He openly reproached Henry for the murder of Thomas à Becket; and observing that the anger of the king arose, he exclaimed, "do to me, if you "will, as you did to Thomas. I shall as wil- "lingly die in England by your hands, as in "Syria by the hands of the infidels; for you "are more cruel than any Saracen." The haughty and politic Henry neither replied to this railing, nor molested the person of the brutal priest.* The monarch went to France;

* While Heraclius was in England in the year 1185, he dedicated the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, and also that of the Temple in Fleet-street, into which part of London the Templars had lately removed from Holborn. After the suppression of the monasteries, the priory church and house of the Hospitallers in Clerkenwell were preserved as store-houses during the remainder of Henry VIII.'s reign. In the time of Edward the VI. most of the church, with the great bell tower, was blown up by gunpowder, and the stone was employed in building Somerset House. The bell tower, says Stow, was a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled, to the great beauty of the city, and passing all others that he had

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at the summons to religion; political animosities were suspended or forgotten; and the sovereigns of the two greatest nations of the west resolved that their armies should unite, and march to Palestine.* The descendants of William I. had used their influence in checking the Norman barons from following the fashion of seeking glory in the Holy Land :† for until time, CHAP. II.

ever seen. That part of the quire which remained, and some side chapels, were repaired by Cardinal Pole in Mary's time. Stow's London. edit. 1720, book iv. p. 62, 63. A Latin inscription, in Saxon capital letters, commemorated the dedication of the Temple church. The inscription was destroyed by the workmen who repaired the church in 1695. Dugdale, in the first edition of his Originales Juridiciales, printed a copy of it; and Strype, in his edition of Stow, has given a fac-simile. From this fac-simile a copy was made in 1810, and put up in the church by order of the Benchers of the two societies of the Inner and Middle Temple.

* Ben. Ab. 434, 437. Hoveden, 628, &c. M. Paris, 119. Bromton, col. 1142. Gervas (col. 1474, ap. x. Scrip.) says that the king gave the patriarch fifty thousand marks of silver.

† The earl of Albemarle and others went with the first Crusade, and several English noblemen accompanied Louis VII. But the cause was not national, or by any means general. The cross-legged figures on sepulchral monuments are not of an earlier date than the reign of Stephen. The fashion survived the holy wars for some years. That those figures represented knights Templars is a notion long since exploded. It has been supposed that they were not only of people who went to Palestine as soldiers or pilgrims, but of those who vowed to go, or who contributed to the expense of the Crusades. The

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CHAP. II.

marriages, and successions had cemented the English and their conquerors, the sword of terror and rule could not be sheathed.* In the reign of Henry II., however, the amalgamation was complete; and the people of England were encouraged by their monarch to think and act like their continental neighbours. Accordingly when the crusade was preached, thousands of men answered the call, and the holy theme was revered in every part of the English dominions.

Sensation in Europe, made by the battle of Tiberias.

While fanaticism was rekindling the torch of religious war, news arrived in the west of the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the infidels. The event was felt as a calamity from one end of Europe to the other; and the judgments of God brought grief and consternation to the breast of every man. Nothing could exceed the terror which seized the court of Rome. In the moment of weakness and humiliation, the

supposition is in some degree warranted by the fact, that there are instances of women in this singular posture on monumental remains. The fashion of cross-legged figures on tombs, appears to have been pretty much confined to England.

† William Rufus too, in whose reign the holy wars commenced, was notoriously irreligious. He professed, indeed, to respect the soldiers of Christ: but that respect had no influence on his conduct; for on one occasion he plainly told a crusading Norman baron, that he would seize his estate during his journey to the Holy Land. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 769.

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cardinals acknowledged the dignity and the force of virtue. They resolved to take no bribes in the administration of justice, to abstain from all luxury of living and splendour of dress, to go to Jerusalem with the scrip and staff of simple pilgrims, and never to ride on horseback while the ground of their Saviour was trodden under the feet of the pagans.* Pope Urban III. died about this period; and his death, like every direful event of the time, was attributed to grief at the intelligence of the Saracenian victories.† William, archbishop of Tyre, our great guide in history, was one of the messengers of the news; and his friend, Gregory VIII. successor of Urban, not only endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of heaven, by ordaining fasting and prayer throughout Christendom, but issued a bull for a new Crusade, with the usual privileges to the Croises.‡ Gregory went to Pisa, and healed the animosities between that city and Genoa, knowing well the importance of the commercial states of Italy to the Christians in the holy wars.§

* "But their passion spent itself with its own violence, and these mariners' vows ended with the tempest." Fuller, Holy War, book ii. ch. 46.

† Hoveden, 636.

‡ Benedict, 495. Hoveden, 637-639. Neub. lib. iii. c. 21.

§ Neub. lib. 3, c. 22. This endeavour of Gregory for the

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CHAP. II.

The Troubadours.

The noise of merriment ceased in the hospitable halls of the barons; the lyre of poetry was attuned to a holy theme; and the Provençal bards sung in lofty cantos the duties of chivalry. He who once had conducted three kings to Bethlehem, had mercifully prepared a road by which even the most flagrant sinners might reach happiness. Mad, foolish man, grovelling in avarice and sensuality, neglects to take the cross, and by such neglect loses at once his honour and his God. To fall in the Holy Land, and in behalf of the sacred cause, is preferable to a mere existence in our own country with common glory, where life is worse than death. To die in the face of the dangers which religion calls on us to confront, is to triumph over death itself, and to find the guerdon of eternal felicity. You may subdue all the kingdoms of Europe; but vain are the conquests of ambition, if you trust not in the promises, and obey not the commands of God. Alexander subdued all the earth; and the reward of his victories was a winding sheet. Oh what folly, then, to see the good and to choose the evil, and to renounce, for perishable objects, that happiness which,

restoration of peace was the last important act of his life. He died at Pisa after a reign of only two months. His successor was Pope Clement III.

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even on earth, mingles with every thought, and gladdens every moment of our lives. March, then, to the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. Arms, honour, and chivalry, all that the world calls grand and moving, will procure for you heavenly glory and happiness. What more can kings and barons desire, than by such noble and pleasing means, to save themselves from the poisonous waters and raging flames of hell?* CHAP. II.

Germany arms.

The emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, summoned a council at Mayence, for the purpose of considering the general propriety of a new Crusade. Prelates and barons were unanimous in the wish for it, and William of Tyre, and Henry, bishop of Albano, legates of the papacy, arrived at the assembly in time to confirm and approve its holy resolve. The emperor, and his son the

* Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 71, &c. Paris, 1817. The Anglo-Norman Troubadours were also active in the cause of religion. At the end of the histories of the dukes of Normandy (Harleian MSS. No. 1717) is a song or canticle in praise of crusading. It was most probably written at the close of the reign of King Henry II. and by the author of the history, namely, Benedict the Norman, the rival of Wace both in literature and in the favour of the English monarch. See M. de la Rue's Essay on the Norman Poets, in the twelfth volume of the Archæologia. Du Cange has discovered that Ultreia was the name of a popular song by which the wild spirit of crusading was encouraged in the minds of the Italians.

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CHAP. II. duke of Suabia, the dukes of Austria and Moravia, and sixty-eight temporal and spiritual lords, were fired with the same enthusiasm.* At the solicitation of the archbishop of Tyre, Philip Augustus, king of France, and Henry II.

Feb. 1188. king of England, met at a place between Trie and Gisors, in Normandy, in order to deliberate on the political state of the times. The prelate of the eastern Latin church appeared, and pleaded the cause of religion before the two monarchs. So pathetic was his description of the miseries of the Latins in Syria, so touching were his reflections on those who engaged in petty national wars, when even the stones of the temple called on all people to avenge the cause of God, that Philip and Henry wept, embraced, and vowed to go together to the Holy Land.

P. Augustus and Henry II. take the cross.

They received the cross from the hands of the archbishop. The count of Flanders entered into their intentions. They agreed that the French crusaders should wear red crosses, the English white ones,† and the Flemish green.

* Godfridi Monachi Annales, ap. Freheri Rer. Germ. Scrip. vol. ii. p. 348.

† I remind the reader, that it was not to the Crusades, or even to St. George; but, *veracious* chroniclers say that England is indebted for her red cross to Joseph of Arimathea, whom our Saviour sent into this country to convert the natives. The missionary gave it as an armorial distinction to king Arvigarus. See Southey's note, Morte d'Arthur, vol. ii. p. 487.

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One opinion and one feeling influenced every breast; and, by universal consent, a tax similar every where in name and in nature was imposed on those who would not be crossed. This imposition was called the Saladin tythe; it was to last for one year; and it extended both to moveable and immoveable property. The clergy and barons of Henry who were in Normandy, decreed that it should be levied in England; and when Henry returned to his English dominions, the barons responded to the wish of the Norman council. By the act which they made at Geddington, in Northamptonshire, the Saladin tenth was to be levied upon the rents and goods of the English people, both clergy and laity, Jews as well as Christians. From military weapons, and corn of the present year's growth, the tenth was not to be collected. Persons who actually assumed the cross were not only exempted, but were even allowed to take the fiscal part of their tenant's property. If the collectors of the tythe were dissatisfied with what a man offered to pay, they were authorized to appoint four or six men of his parish to make an assessment. The crusaders, too, might mortgage their land for three years; and the mortgagee should receive the rents even to the prejudice of former creditors. The English council forbad the pilgrims

Saladin tythe.

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from sensual pleasures,* from all manner of gaming, and from the luxury of dressing in ermine and sables.† Henry wrote to the king of Hungary and the emperor of Constantinople, requesting a safe passage for his troops. The request was granted; and imperial legates arrived in England for the purpose of arranging the terms of the treaty.‡

Though ships continually sailed from England

* On perusing Fosbrooke's British Monachism, I found that I had overlooked the decree in these statutes forbidding a Crusader to take any woman with him, except a laundress on foot of good character. This qualification of the exception was necessary; for in the middle ages (and we hope in those times only) the words lotrix and meretrix were synonymous. Knighton, col. 2422. apud X Script.

† Neub. lib. iii. c. 23. Hoveden, 641. M. Paris, 122. Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis, 495, 496. Gervas, 1522. Henry extorted an immense sum from the Jews in the Christian cause. Such of his subjects as could not pay, were incarcerated. The king of Scotland compounded for the Saladin tenth in his kingdom, by paying Henry five thousand marks. Hoveden, 644. The Chartreux, the Cistertians, the Fontrevault, and the friars of the order of St. Lazarus, were exempt from paying the Saladin tythe: and if the princes of Europe had listened to the casuistry of the secular clergy, they would have been contented with the good wishes and prayers of the church, and not have demanded their money. Bernardus, Thes. p. 804. In England, the sums collected by the Saladin tythe, were seventy thousand pounds, from the Christians, and sixty thousand pounds from the Jews. Gervas, 1529.

‡ Diceto, 637, &c. About the year 1188, archbishop Bald-

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and France, bearing martial pilgrims to the holy land, the ambition and restlessness of Philip Augustus, and of Prince Richard, diverted the government and the great body of the people from the salvation of Palestine. The ignominious peace which England was compelled to make with France, and his mental agony at the rebellion and ingratitude of his sons, brought on the death of the English monarch.* The love of military honour inflamed the French king, and the bold, ardent, and valiant Richard Cœur de Lion had more of the warlike spirit than of the religious feelings of the age. None of the principles which originally caused the

CHAP. II.

July 1189.

win made a journey through Wales, for the double purpose of preaching the crusade, and of submitting the Welch bishopricks to the see of Canterbury. He visited, also, the isle of Anglesey, and terminated his labours in Chester. His languages, both French and English, were unintelligible to the people, and his eloquence was injured by interpretation; but his miracles stamped him as the man of God, and three thousand men, well skilled in the use of lances and arrows, were prepared to march to Palestine. Giraldus Cambrensis, Itin. Cambriæ, p. 226, 12mo. 1585. The Welch recovered from their religious fever, and very few, if any, quitted the principality.

* Henry II. was munificent in his donations to the cause of crusading. To each of the two great military orders he bequeathed five thousand marks of silver: he gave also the same sum for the general purposes of the holy land, and he was equally generous to the lazars and other hospitals in Jerusalem. Nichols's Royal Wills, p. 7, &c.

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CHAP. II. Crusades, influenced the actions of either They little regarded who were the lords of the holy land, or whether Christianity or Islamism had the greatest sway. But as they were both inspired with the passion of fame, and as the people of Europe burned for revenge on the impious Saracens, the two monarchs felt that renown could be gained in Palestine alone. Their fierce spirits sought gratification in the applause of the world, and the reputation for corporeal prowess is as honourable in days of barbarism, as a name for intellectual accomplishments is the ambition in times of refinement. So eager was Richard to equip a large military force that he sold the crown lands, and offices of trust and dignity were no longer to be acquired by desert or favour. The king of Scotland obtained for ten thousand marks Richard's renunciation of the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, and of the claims of England on the allegiance of Scotland.* The sheriffs and bailiffs, and all who were guilty or suspected of corruption, gave their lord large sums of money for indemnity. The virtuous Glanvil, the justiciary, was cast into prison. He was compelled to pay fifteen thousand pounds for his liberty; and he agreed, old as he was, to go on

* Bromton, 1167. Neub. iv. 5.

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a perilous journey to Judea.* Others, who had resolved on a holy war, and who afterwards repented of their oaths, made pecuniary sacrifices in the place of personal services.† CHAP. II.

The count of Perche, as envoy of Philip, arrived in England with his master's requisition of Richard and his soldiers at Vezelai in the following Easter. The prelates and nobility were summoned to council at Westminster; the French peer, and the earl of Essex, pledged the honour of their respective monarchs that all the bands of Crusaders should unite at the appointed place.‡ Richard§ crossed the Channel in December and soon after Christmas met his brother sovereign. The monarchs renewed their protestations of perpetual frindship, and swore that in case of necessity they would defend each others' territories with all the warmth of self-interest. If either of the princes should die during the Crusade, the survivor was to use his Oct. 1189.

* But we learn from Newborough, that Glanville had taken the cross in Henry's reign, and was resolved to go at the time mentioned in the text, because he was disgusted with Richard's financial measures. Lib. iv. c. iv. The justiciary accompanied Baldwin in part of his Welch journey. See the commencement of Giraldus Camb.

† M. Paris. 129. Bromton, 1175.

‡ M. Paris, 130.

§ Mr. Wiffen has discovered that a Sir Michael Carrington was Richard's standard bearer, and was ancestor to the Smiths, Lords Carrington. Translation of Tasso, vol. 1, p. cxlix.

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CHAP. II. men and money for the accomplishment of the great design. The period of departure was deferred from Easter to the ensuing Midsummer.* During his stay in Normandy, Richard made some singular laws for regulating the conduct of the pilgrims in their passage by sea. Murder was to be punished by casting into the water the deceased person, with the murderer tied to him. He that drew his sword in anger should lose his hand. If a man gave another a blow he was to be thrice immersed: an ounce of silver was the penalty for using opprobrious language. A thief was to have boiling pitch and feathers put upon his head, and was to be set on shore at the first opportunity.†

June 1190. Philip Augustus received the staff and scrip‡ at St. Denys, and Richard at Tours. They joined their forces at Vezelai; the number was computed at one hundred thousand§ soldiers,

* Brom'on, 1170. Rigord, in the fifth of Duchesne, p. 29.

† M. Paris, 132. Hoveden, 666. The circumstance mentioned in the text respecting tarring and feathering is a fine subject for comment by the searchers into popular antiquities.

‡ The purse of a royal or noble pilgrim used to be magnificently adorned with golden ornaments: and also with heraldic devices, not only of the owner's family, but of every person with whom he was in any wise connected. See the engraving of the crusading purse of the earls of Brittany, in Montfaucon, Monumens François, vol. ii. p. 166.

§ Vinesauf, i. 9.

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and the march to Lyons was conducted in union and with harmony. At that city the monarchs parted; the lord of France pursued the Genoese road; his noble compeer that of Marseilles, and Sicily was named as the rendezvous.*

Crusade of the Germans.

The heroic Frederic Babarossa was among the first of those whose grief rose into indignation after the fall of Jerusalem. In his letters to the sacrilegious Saladin, he demanded restitution of the city, and threatened him, in the event of non-compliance, to pour into Asia all the military force of the German States. But the triumphant infidel replied that he would oppose his Turcomans, his Bedoweens, and Syrians, to the German hordes. Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, he continued, were the only places which at that time belonged to the Christians, and if those cities were resigned to him, he would restore the true cross, and permit the people of the west to visit Jerusalem as pilgrims† Germany was indignant at this haughty reply; all the powers took up arms against the man who had defied them; but in prudent remembrance of the disorders and calamities which popular impatience had occasioned in the first and second Crusades, an imperial

* For an account of the authorities for the third Crusade, see note N.

† M. Paris, 122.

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edict was issued, that no one should go who could not furnish his own viaticum for a twelvemonth.* The consecrated standards of the German princes were surrounded by innumerable hosts of Crusaders, drawn out of every class of life, from honourable knighthood down to the meanest vassalage. Their emperor conducted them from Ratisbon, their rendezvous, through the friendly Hungarian states; but when he reached the territories of the great lord of the east, he had to encounter the hostility of a violent yet timid foe. The emperor Isaac Angelus displayed both enmity and cowardice. He did not deny the Germans the liberty to purchase provisions, but in his communications with Frederic he carefully avoided giving him imperial titles; and the Greek governors were perplexed by one day receiving orders to preserve the fortifications of their towns, and at another time by commands for their destruction, lest they should become stations of the Germans.† Barbarossa marched with prudence and humanity. In his indignation

April, &c. 1189.

* Vinesauf, i. 19. Godef. p. 350.

† Bernardus, p. 804. Nicetas, p. 199. Tageno in Struve's edition of M. Freher's Rer. Germ. Scrip. 407, 410. Godef. Mon. 350, 355, and the anonymous but contemporary history of the expedition of Frederic, in Canisius, vol. iii. pars. ii. p. 504, 517. Canisius modestly styled his collection, Lectiones Antiquæ. His learned editor, Basnage, has given it the more

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at the haughtiness and duplicity of Isaac, he generally spared the people, and passed the Hellespont without having deigned to enter the imperial city.* The people of Philadelphia behaved to the Germans with all the pride and coldness of Isaac; but so warm was the hospitality of the inhabitants of Laodicea, that Frederic poured fourth in public a prayer for its prosperity, and declared that if the other Greek cities had behaved with similar kindness, he should have crossed the Grecian frontier with a sword free from the blood of the Greeks.† He entered the territories of the Muselmans in triumph, and not only defeated the Turks in a general engagement, but took Iconium. The sultan then repented of his perfidy, and with the independent emirs of Asia Minor, deprecated the further vengeance of the Germans. They continued their march with more honour and dignity than had ever accompanied the early Crusaders, but they were deprived by death of their venerable hero. It was in the spring of the year that they passed the Isaurian mountains, from which issues the small river of

appropriate name of Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum.

* On the relations between the Greeks and Latins before and during the Crusades, see note O.

† Nicetas, 204. Canisius, p. 517.

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A.D. 1190. Death of the emperor Barbarossa.

the Calycadnus. In this stream Frederic bathed, but his aged frame could not sustain the shock, and he was drawn out almost lifeless. His death* happened shortly afterwards, and though his son, the duke of Suabia, was a brave and experienced general, yet the death of the emperor so much revived the courage of the Saracens, that the course of the Christians was continually harassed. The previous victories of the Germans had cost them dreadfully dear: long marches, frequent change of climate, and occasional appearances of famine, thinned their ranks. A stop was put to their sufferings by the supplies which they received from the people of Armenia; but by that time the once proud force of Germany was reduced to a tenth of its original number.† Saladin had been

* It will not be worth while to inquire whether the emperor bathed in the Cydnus or the Calycadnus: "If he went in to "wash himself, he neither consulted with his health nor "honour. Some say, his horse foundered under him as he "passed the water; others, that he fell from him. But these "several relations, as variety of instruments, make a doleful "concert in this, that there he lost his life; and no wonder, "if the cold water quickly quenched those few sparks of "natural heat left in him at seventy years of age." Fuller, Holy War, book iii. cap. iv.

† Hist. Hier. 1157 1162. Herold. cap. 6 and 7. Tageno, 410, 416. Nicetas, 204, 206. Canisius, 517, 526. Godefri, Mon. p. 356. Brompton, 1165. Diceto, 655.

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compelled to withdraw most of his soldiers from Antioch, and the Germans had little difficulty in renewing a Christian government in that city

Formation of the Teutonic order.

In the autumn of 1190, the duke of Suabia arrived at Acre, and importance was given to the German force by the formation of a new order of knighthood. One of their countrymen had about sixty years before founded an hospital at Jerusalem for the poor male pilgrims of his nation; and his wife emulating his charity, built a similar place for women. Private benevolence augmented the establishments, and insensibly the patrons imitated the military conduct of the knights of St. John and the Temple. The institution was ruined by the fall of Jerusalem, but it revived in another shape at the siege of Acre. In order to assist the sick and wounded of their countrymen, some soldiers of Bremen and Lubeck converted their tents, which were formed only from the sails of ships, into a temporary hospital. The number of these charitable persons was soon enlarged to forty, and they began to assume the regular appearance of a formal community. The duke of Suabia knew the benefits which the military friars had conferred upon charity and arms; the chiefs of the army applauded his design of strengthening the holy land by

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CHAP. II. forming an additional military order; the bishops prepared the code; and the new cavaliers were to be guided in the performance of their charitable duties by the canons of the knights of St. John, and by the practice of the Templars in what regarded martial discipline. The Vatican confirmed the establishment; Pope Celestine III. gave it the rule of St. Augustine for its general law, and accorded to it the privileges which distinguished the other military fraternities. The service of the poor and sick, and the defence of the holy places, were the great objects which the Pope commanded them to regard; and their domestic economy was to be preserved by chastity and equal participation of property. They were divided into three classes, knights, priests, and serving brothers. All the members were to be Germans, and those of the first class could only be men of noble birth and extraction. The order of the Teutonic knights of the house of St. Mary in Jerusalem was their title, and their dress was a white mantle with a black cross, embroidered with gold.*

* James de Vitry, 1084. Sanutus, lib. iii. p. 7., c. iii. and Helyot, vol. iii. c. xvi. The first of these authors says, it pleased God to create this third order, because "a three-fold "cord is not quickly broken." Eccl. iv. 12.

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CHAP. II.

Events in Palestine loss of Jerusalem.

While the kings of England and France were marshalling their hosts for a foreign war, the Christians in the holy land slowly recovered from their panic, and joined Lusignan. Greeks, Latins, Syrians, Templars, and Hospitallers, emerged from their places of secrecy, burning for revenge on the infidel spoliators. Security could alone be procured by conquest, and, as almost all the holy land was in possession of the Saracens, the multitude of objects perplexed the choice. But Palestine, even in the brightest days of Latin history, had never been independent of Europe, and unless the sea-coast were secured, the parent state could not supply its colony. Acre had opened its gates to the conqueror a few days after the battle of Tiberias, and that city, by reason of its situation and magnitude, was worthy the bravest efforts of its former lords. The sea washed its fortifications on the north and west; a noble pier defended the port from the storms and the enemy; and the city on the land side was fortified by double walls, ditches, and towers.* When Richard and Philip Augustus

* "The single city of Acre is so decisive of the fate of "Palestine, that whoever possesses it may easily make himself "master of the whole country. The history of the Israelites, "as well as of the Crusades, establishes this: and the reason "is, that from this port a great plain extends all the way to the

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CHAP. II. reached the holy land, the siege of Acre had lasted twenty-two months. The most patient attention would be exhausted by a minute detail of the operations of that period, and a liberal curiosity will be satisfied by a notice of the chief and characteristic circumstances. So perfect was the self-security of Saladin, that he did not attempt to overwhelm the foe; and when he at length found the necessity of personally attempting the relief of his city, the force of the king of Jerusalem was appallingly numerous. The people of France and England could not wait the tardy march of their organized armies; they answered with impatience the signals of distress which Palestine

Siege of Acre, August 1189.

" river Jordan, dividing Palestine into two halves. In this " plain have been fought most of those decisive battles which " have caused the country to change its masters: that, for in- " stance, against Sisera, Judges, chap. iv.; that wherein Saul " fell, 1 Sam. chap. xxxi.; and that in which Josiah was de- " feated and slain, 2 Kings xxxii. 29. It was precisely the " same in the time of the holy war; the chief scene of which " was this vale, and the city of Acre itself." Michaelis on the Mosaic Law, vol. i. p. 56. Smith's translation. G. Villani praises Acre because it was "nella frontiera del nostro mare, e in " mezzo de Soria e quasi nel mezzo del mondo habitato, presso " a Gerusalem a 70 miglia, e fontana e porte era d' ogni merca- " tantia, si di Levante, come di Ponente: e di tutte le genera- " tioni di gente del mondo v'erano e usavano per fare merca- " tantia, e turcomani v' havea di tutte le lingue del mondo, si " che ella era quasi come uno elemento del mondo."

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hung out; indeed every country of Europe poured forth its population with disorderly rapidity, and Lusignan was at one time the commander of one hundred thousand soldiers. The Christians were encamped on the plain to the south of Acre, and the general station of Saladin was near the town and mountain of Khorouba, still further to the south. Among the bravest of the Christian lords were the count of Champagne,* the duke of Gueldres, the landgrave of Thuringia, and James d'Avesnes. Many of the clergy wore the casque and the cuirass; the archbishops of Pisa and Ravenna, the bishops of Salisbury, Beauvais, Cambray, Acre, and Bethlehem, deserved the honour of ecclesiastical knighthood; and on one occasion the valour of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury,†

* Henry I., father of the count of Champagne, mentioned in the text, went twice into the east. He accompanied Louis in 1147, and, hope triumphing over experience, he went again in 1178 with Peter de Courtenay the king's brother, and other princes, on one of those numerous private crusades which drained Europe of as much money and as many men as the great national crusades cost; but which expeditions of individuals are seldom recorded in the great and general history of the times. Almost all Henry's soldiers perished in Asia Minor; and a few days after his return to France, Henry died of fatigue and illness See L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 618.

† Hist. Hier. p. 1171, in Bongarsius. The author of this history of Jerusalem praises very highly the valour of the old

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CHAP. II. saved the camp. The Christians plied the battering rams and mangonels against the walls, and they only ceased from their labour when Saladin called them to battle on the plain. The engagements were as sanguinary and obstinate as any which had marked the holy wars. If the Latins at any time prevailed, they speedily lost their advantages, by abandoning themselves to plunder, and allowing the vigilant enemy to collect his broken battalions. When the Saracens conquered, the Christians kept within the shelter of their fortified camp,* and did not again take the field till pressed to action by some new bands of Crusaders. The conflicts between the Moslems and Christians were by sea as well as by land; but the naval forces were so equally balanced, that the Latins could not finally prevent the Egyptians from succouring Acre, and Europe kept up its communications with the camp. In the last year of the siege, the deaths by famine and pestilence exceeded the destruction which former battles had occasioned. Both armies were wasted by

archbishop of Canterbury. It appears that his grace supported a corps of two hundred horse soldiers and three hundred foot. His standard was inscribed with the name of Thomas à Becket.

* The Christian camp was so well fortified, that the Saracens used to say, "not even a bird can enter it."

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a swift decay, for the presence of such numbers had exhausted the Muselman as well as the Christian neighbourhood. At the siege of Acre, as well as at the old siege of Antioch, the morals of the holy warriors were as depraved as their condition was miserable. Yet an appearance of holiness pervaded the camp. Religious exercises were performed, and vice was reprehended. The Crusaders were seemingly devout, but in reality were dissolute,* and compromised for personal excesses by pharisaical scrupulosity and uncharitableness. The archbishop of Canterbury died, it is said, not of disease, but of regret at the general profligacy; but his friend

* Thus, as has often been the case, the extreme of misery produced the effects of the extreme of luxury. Misery and wretchedness went hand in hand during the great plague at Athens. So Boccacio describes the consequences of the pestilence at Florence, in the year 1348: "Et in tanta afflittione et miseria "delle nostra citta, era la reverenda autorita delle leggi cosi "divine come humane quasi caduta et dissoluta tutta, &c." Boccaccio, Il Decamerone, Giornata prima. In all these cases, Pagans and Christians, considering God as the author of temporal good and evil only, and observing that the virtuous suffered as much as the wicked, concluded that moral conduct was disregarded by Heaven. Unbounded licentiousness followed. No laws of God limited the people: the laws of man were equally inefficacious, because the criminal thought that he might die before the day of trial, or if he should live to that time, those who would have been his accusers might have perished in the general calamity, See Thucydides, lib. 2. cap. 53.

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CHAP. II. the bishop of Salisbury outlived the plague, and equally active in his religious as well as in his military duties, he collected and distributed the alms of the rich. Conrad, marquis of Tyre, had joined, and afterwards left his friends, and to his departure all the miseries of the Christians from famine were attributed. But his own principality was his most important charge, and he could not furnish provisions for his people and for the whole of the army at the same time. Disease reached and destroyed princes as well as plebeians; and when Queen Sybilla and her two young children died, Guy de Lusignan lost his principal political support. New competitors appeared for the visionary kingdom. Isabel, the sister of Sybilla, had been married at the early age of eight years to Humphry lord of Thoron; but when the warm passions of youth succeeded the indifference of infancy, the gallantry and knightly accomplishments of Conrad, marquis of Tyre, gained her affections. In the middle ages consanguinity or some canonical impediment was always discovered, when disgust or ambition urged the dissolution of the marriage contract; and when the will is resolved, the mind is not scrupulous in its choice of arguments of justification. The church terminated the union of Humphry and Isabel, and the day after the proclamation of the divorce,

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the bishop of Beauvais married the amorous fair one to the marquis of Tyre. As husband of the princess, Conrad claimed the honours of respect which were due to the king of Jerusalem; Humphry was too prudent to contend for an empty distinction; but Lusignan, who had once enjoyed the crown, would not forego the hope of recovering it. The Christian cause was scandalized and injured by these divisions among the chiefs, but the candidates for the pageant sceptre were obliged to submit to the general opinion of the army, and reserve the decision of their claims for the judgment of the French and English monarchs.*

Richard's course from Marseilles to Sicily 7th Aug. 1190.

Richard's fleet had not arrived at Marseilles at the appointed time; and so great was his impatience, that after waiting for it only eight days he hired some galleys and put to sea.† He went to Genoa, and conferred with the French king, whose illness had kept him in that city. He then made a brief stay at Pisa, and shortly afterwards an accident which happened to his

* Vinesauf, i. 28, 29, 42, 65. Ben. Ab. Pet. 571, 574. Bohadin, cap. 52, 60, 84, 92. Bernardus, 806, &c.

† Soon afterwards the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph de Glanville, left Marseilles and went to Acre. Hoveden says that the passage between those two places might be made in fifteen days. Hoveden, 668, 672. M. Paris, 134. Bromton, 1175.

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CHAP. II. vessel compelled him to enter the Tiber. The cardinal of Ostia received him with distinction, but Richard refused his courtesy, and openly reprehended the simoniacal conduct of the court of Rome. On the 20th of August he reached Naples, and went to the abbey of St. Januarius for the purpose of viewing the singular spectacle of the sons of Naimond, who stood in skin and bones in a cell. He made some stay in the city, and then travelled on horseback to Salernum, where he resolved to wait till he should hear of the arrival of his navy in the Mediterranean. The English fleet had been dispersed off Portugal by a violent storm, but the ships finally reached Lisbon, their crews were received with hospitality, and circumstances enabled them to pay their obligation of gratitude. The Moors of Spain and Africa were menacing Portugal, five hundred English soldiers joined the king, and marched to Santarem. Their warlike aspect awed the Saracens, and the fortunate death at this juncture of the Moorish commander broke the union of the enemy, and the country was saved. The English fleet coasted Portugal, and the southern part of Spain, and arrived at Marseilles. It then set sail for Messina, and reached that place a few days before the arrival of Philip and the French. Richard left Salernum on the 13th of

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September, and on the 21st reached Mileto. He then pursued his journey, accompanied only by one knight. The impetuosity of his progress was checked by his love of chivalric delights, and he entered a cottage because he heard that a hawk was confined in it. He seized the bird, and on his refusal to deliver it up, the peasants assailed him with clubs and stones, and one man even drew his dagger. Richard struck the caitiff with the flat part of his sword, the weapon broke, and until he could reach a neighbouring priory, he was obliged to defend himself by stones.* That night he reposed in a tent near Scilla, and the next morning he assembled all the English ships, and entered the harbour of Messina with so much splendour, and such clangour of horns and trumpets, that the Sicilians and French were astonished and alarmed.† Tancred, the illegitimate son of Roger duke of Apulia, was at that period the king of the island. After the loss of the sovereignity of the northern states of Italy, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa looked with an ambitious eye on Sicily, and wished to marry his eldest son Henry to Constantia, daughter of Roger, and legitimate heiress to the throne. The marriage was cele-

Occurrences in Sicily.

* Ben. Ab. Pet. 593-604. Hoveden, 668-673.

† M. Paris, 136. Hoveden, 673. Ben. Ab. Pet. 604.

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CHAP. II. brated in the year 1186, but Tancred continued the real monarch, for he was supported by the Norman barons, who disdained to be governed by a foreign king. Among the precautions which Tancred took for the establishing of his authority was the imprisonment of the widow of William the Good, his immediate predecessor. She was the sister of Richard king of England, but on the arrival of that monarch in Sicily, the usurper restored her to freedom. But her dowry was still withheld, and her brother was resolved to avenge her wrongs. In all his measures he was violent and unjust. He placed her in a fortress which he seized from the Sicilians, and drove out the religious inhabitants of a monastery in order that it might contain his stores.* Those circumstances, and the dissoluteness of his people, were the occasion of much altercation between the natives and the strangers.† Hatred broke out into open contest; the fray was checked by some of the chief citizens; it appeared again, but Plantagenet with a few knights finally quelled it. Philip Augustus had

* Hov. 673.

† Vinesauf, ii. 16, 17. Fazello says, that the Messinians had seized the occasion of the English people rioting in the streets to drive them out, and shut the gates upon them. "Gl' Inglisi andavanol icentiosamente vagando per la citta con "molta lascivia." Fazello. Ist. de Sic. lib. 7.

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favoured the cause of the Sicilians, and the English monarch, therefore, regarded him as an enemy, and planted his standard on the quarters of the French.* The mediation of the barons prevented a war between Philip and Richard, and the latter shewed his good will to his royal companion by delivering Messina to the soldiers of the military orders, till Tancred should equitably settle the claims of his sister. Peace was then concluded. Richard renounced all claims on Sicily; his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, was to be married to a daughter of Tancred, and the Sicilian prince agreed to equip ten gallies, and six palanders or horse transports, for the Crusaders: to pay the dowry to Richard's sister, and the legacies which William the Good had bequeathed to Henry II. of England.† Messina was given to the French king, and Richard encamped without the walls.‡ Various regulations were made for intercourse between the different nations during the winter months. Merchants were not to purchase bread or corn in the army for the purpose of resale, and the profits on their

CHAP. II.

* Ben. A. Pet. 606-608.

† According to Roger de Hoveden the compensation for Joanna's dower was twenty thousand ounces of gold, and a like sum was the value of the legacies, 676.

‡ Neub. iv. 12.

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general transactions were restricted to one denarius in ten. Gaming was permitted to the knights and clergy, to the exclusion of the rest of the army. No individual, however, was to lose more than twenty shillings in one day or night.* For some time there was a frequent interchange of good offices between the French and English. Richard gave Philip several ships, and was so prodigal of his money among the soldiers, that it was commonly said, he was more bountiful in a month than his father had been in a year. But the disputes at Messina had rankled in the mind of Philip, and contemporary English historians have charged him with offering his assistance to Tancred for the expulsion of Richard. The largesses of Plantagenet, however, had gained him the friendship of the Sicilian prince. In the moment of confidence, Tancred shewed his benefactor some letters of the French king, expressive of his treacherous designs. The count of Flanders charged Philip with baseness, and the sight of the papers threw him into confusion. But, recovering himself, he declared that the letters were forgeries, and an impudent trick of Richard to break off his match with Alice of France. This dispute brought matters to a

* Hoveden, 675.

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crisis, a new treaty was made between the two kings; the breach of a contract which Philip had contemplated with indignation he now looked upon as a matter of indifference, for after certain interchanges of money and territory, the English monarch was allowed a free choice in marriage.* CHAP. II.

In the month of March 1191, Philip left Sicily, and sailed to Acre. His appearance was regarded as a divine blessing; in the moment of elation the attacks were renewed: but orders were soon given for suspending them till the arrival of Richard, and it is more rational to think that the improbability of success without him was Philip's motive, and not the specious reason that as the cause was common, the victory should be common also.† Before his departure from Sicily, Richard avowed that he would lead a life of virtue, and with all humility submitted his back to the scourges of his clergy. He was detained for a short time on account of the expected arrival of his mother Eleanor with the princess Berengaria of Navarre, to whom he had been affianced, long

The French sail to Acre

* Bromton, 1195. Hoveden, 687, 688. Rymer, I. 54, new edit. Rigord in Duchesne, vol. v. p. 32, says, that "there "were disputes between Richard and Philip; but that they "only related to the time of sailing."

† Herold, chap. 10.

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CHAP. II.

before his treaty with Philip gave him liberty of marriage. About a fortnight after the departure of his rival, the English monarch set sail. In the absence of numerical statements concerning the strength of his army, we can conjecture that it was formidable, from the fact that his soldiers, horses, and stores, filled two hundred ships of various sizes. A storm dispersed his fleet, and he heard at Rhodes that two of his vessels had been stranded on the shores of Cyprus, and that the people of the island had plundered and imprisoned such of the crews as had survived shipwreck. The vessel which carried the dowager queen of Sicily and Berengaria had been refused entrance into port. Richard soon arrived off Limisso, and it is singular that so irascible a monarch should three times demand reparation. He who had wantonly violated the law of nations would not willingly remedy the wrong; the English therefore landed on the shores of Cyprus; the archers as usual preceded to clear the way; their barbed arrows fell like showers of rain on the meadows,* and supported by the heavily armed soldiers they drove the emperor and his Greeks into the interior of the island. The ruler of Cyprus was of the race of Com-

Departure of Richard.

He subjugates Cyprus.

* "—— quasi imber super gramina, ita cecidere sagittæ "super pugnantes." Hoveden, p. 690.

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nenus, but he had changed his government into a kingdom. He had not courted the people by augmenting their privileges: and regarding Richard as their preserver, they gladly assisted him in subduing the tyrant and usurper. Isaac was taken; the king of England became lord of Cyprus; he taxed the people to the dreadful amount of the half of their moveables, and then accorded to them the rights they had enjoyed under the dominion of the Byzantine emperors. Richard reposed himself from the toil of conquest by celebrating his marriage with Berengaria, and participating in the festivities of Limisso.* But in a few weeks he roused himself to arms. His fleet left Cyprus;† a large troop ship of Saladin

He sails from Cyprus.

* Hoveden, 692. Bromton, 1200. William of Newborough makes Richard stay more than two months at Cyprus. His residence there could not have been so long; for he left Sicily in April, and arrived at Acre on the 8th of June.

† Hoveden, 692. Vinesauf, p. 329. Bromton, cap. 102. The Saracenian vessel sunk before the English got out much of the stores. But the Romance says,

The king found in the dromound, sans fail,
Mickle store, and great vitail,
Many barrels full of fire gregeys;
And many thousand bow Turkeis;
Hooked arrows, and quarelles.
They found there full many barrels
Of wheat, and wine great plenty;
Gold and silver, and ilke daintey,

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CHAP. II. crossed his way; the light gallies surrounded and attacked her, but the lofty sides of the Turk could not be mounted. "I will crucify "all my soldiers if she should escape," exclaimed Richard. His men, more in dread of their sovereign's wrath than the swords of the foe, impelled the sharp beaks of their vessels against the enemy; some of the soldiers dived into the sea, and seized the rudder; and others came to close combat with the Saracens. In order to make the capture an unprofitable one, the emir commanded his troops to cut through the sides of their ship till the waters should rush in. They then leaped on the decks of the English gallies. But the sanguinary and ungenerous Richard killed or cast over board his defenceless enemies, or, with an avarice equally detestable, saved the commanders for the sake of their ransom.

His cruelty

Of treasure he had not half the mound
That in the dromound was yfound,
For it drowned in the flood,
Ere half uncharged were that good.
Ellis's Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, vol ii. p. 219.

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CONTINUATION OF THE THIRD CRUSADE.

Arrival of the English at Acre—Dissensions between the French and English kings—Heroism of Richard—Reconciliation between Richard and Philip Augustus—Surrender of Acre—Departure of the French king—March of the Croises from Acre to Azotus—Richard defeats Saladin—He marches to Jaffa—He advances to Ramula—Is dissuaded from marching to Jerusalem—Falls back on Ascalon—Fruitless negociation for peace—Death of the marquis of Tyre—Richard advances towards Jerusalem—The enterprise abandoned—Richard's heroism at Jaffa—It leads to an honourable peace—Courtesy of the king and the sultan—Miscellaneous events—Richard leaves the holy land—Lands in Dalmatia—His adventures in Germany—Is taken prisoner—His trial at Worms—His ransom—His return to England.

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June 8, 1191. Arrival of the English at Acre.

SHOUTS of warm and gratulatory acclamations saluted the English on their arrival at Acre. The brilliant scene before them was calculated to excite all the animating feelings of warriors. The martial youth of Europe were assembled on the plain in all the pride and pomp of chivalry. The splendid tents, the gorgeous en-

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signs, the glittering weapons, the armorial cognizances, displayed the varieties of individual fancy and national peculiarities. On the eminences in the distance the thick embattled squadrons of the sultan were encamped. The Mameluk Tartar was armed with his bow; the people of the higher Egypt with their flails and scourges, and the Bedoweens with their spears and small round shields. The brazen drum sounded the note of war; and the black banner of Saladin was raised in proud defiance of the crimson standard of the cross.*

Dissensions between the French and English kings.

The joy with which the French regarded the English was soon changed for the bitter feelings of military envy and national hatred. The religious objects of the war appeared to be forgotten. The Genoese and Templars sided with Philip; and the Pisans and Hospitalians with Richard. The king of France prepared his soldiers and their battering engines for a vigorous and general assault on the walls of Acre; and murmured revenge when his martial competitor declined co-operation on the ground of illness.† The choicest part of the French troops marched to the walls, eager to shame the English. The garrison, as usual, struck their atabals; and the dreadful occasion of the alarm

* Vinesauf, I. 1, 2. † See note P.

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was soon communicated to Saladin. But high as was the valour of the assailants, their numbers were not adequate; and they were repulsed in every point. When Saladin, however, attempted to carry destruction into the army and camp of his baffled foes, he was driven back with loss. The French re-appeared as assailants; once again displayed their imprudent spirit; and more than one cavalier emulated the fame of the noble Alberic Clement, who had sworn that he would enter Acre or die in the effort, and who expired upon the walls. In sickness and in convalescence Richard was carried to his military engines on a mattress,* and was so active in making and using his petrariæ, that he soon destroyed half of one of the Turkish towers. He preserved his machines from the Greek fire of the city; and he rewarded his Balistarii for every stone which they removed from the walls. The ditch was filled up: the tower was completely levelled; and the English heroes, particularly the earl of Leicester† and the bishop of Salisbury, pre-

Heroism of Richard.

* The martial spirit of Saladin also rose above corporeal sufferings. Bohadin gives several instances of his firmness, particularly on one occasion, when he formed his troops in battle array, and rode about the field from morning to night, although his legs were covered with biles, and it was though that he could only recline. Bohadin, p. 18.

† Robert Fitz Parnel accompanied king Richard from Eng-

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pared to enter the breach. The conflict was close and sanguinary. The Pisans came to the assistance of the English; but the fury of the Turks was irresistible; and the walls were cleared of the enemy. The failure of the ambitious attempts of each of the monarchs at the capture of Acre without the aid of his rival, evinced the necessity of co-operation. A reconciliation in consequence was effected between Richard and Philip; and they determined that one should attack the walls, while the other guarded the camp from the approaches of Saladin.* But Acre had suffered so dreadfully from a two years' siege, that the inhabitants were reduced to the melancholy necessity of resolving to desist from defence. They sent ambassadors to the camp of their foes, offering the surrender of the city, unless a relief from Saladin should speedily arrive; and requiring free egress for themselves and property. Philip and the French barons were willing to accept these terms; but Richard terminated the negociation, by insisting that both public and private possessions should be delivered to the con-

Reconciliation of the kings.

land, and became earl of Leicester, before he left France, on hearing of the death of his father in Greece, on his return from Palestine. Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 88.

* Vinesauf, iii. 5-11. Hoveden, 694. Ben. Ab. 659.

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querors. Saladin endeavoured to infuse his own invincible spirit into the minds of his people, and revived for a moment their languid courage by directing their hopes to succour from Egypt. The Christians continued their assaults by day and night; and so distressed were the Turks, that many of them left the city and became renegadoes. The expected aid from Cairo did not arrive; and the citizens wrung from Saladin his permission for them to capitulate. Their safety was accordingly purchased by their agreeing to deliver unto the two kings the city itself, and five hundred Christian prisoners who were in it. The true cross was to be resigned, with one thousand other captives, and two hundred knights selected by the allies from those who were in the hands of Saladin: and unless the Muselmans paid to Richard and Philip the sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold within forty days, the inhabitants of Acre should be at the mercy of the conquerors. These conditions were assented to; and before the city changed its lords, a proclamation was made in the French and English camps, that no one should injure or insult such of the Turks as quitted the place. The Christians entered Acre; the banners of the two kings floated on the ramparts; but precedence seems to have been given to Richard,

Surrender of Acre, July 12, 1191.

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for he and his wife and sister inhabited the royal palace, while Philip occupied the house of the Templars.* The royal conquerors appropriated to themselves the city's store of arms and provisions. They could not refuse the justice of their soldiers' claim, founded on the principle, that those who had shared the labours should divide the reward; but payment was so long deferred, that many persons were forced by poverty to sell their military equipments, and return to Europe.† The kings were divided in opinion respecting the title to the sovereignty over Palestine. Guy of Lusignan, and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli had visited Richard in Cyprus, and the English monarch was persuaded to espouse the cause of the weak and miserable Lusignan. Conrad had shewn himself worthy of a kingdom; and though it is most probable that the love of opposition to Richard was the feeling which gained him the friendship of Philip, yet the side which the French king took was certainly that of merit. The disputes were sometimes heard of

* Vinesauf, iii. 12-18. Hoveden, 694-696. Bohadin, cap. 98-114. The Arabic writers are warm in their praises of the conduct and bravery of Richard. Bohadin says that the army thought Philip the greatest sovereign in name and dignity, and Richard the wealthiest prince and ablest warrior, c. 97.

† Bened. 666.

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during the siege; but after the capture, they raged with violence. Negociations, however, were entered into, and mutual rights were compromised by the agreement that Lusignan should be styled king of Jerusalem, and lord of Jaffa and Ascalon; yet that if Conrad should be the survivor, he and his heirs were to have perpetual sovereignty.* The English monarch afterwards generously surrendered the isle of Cyprus to Lusignan.

Departure of the French king.

A few weeks after the capitulation of Acre, and before the time had elapsed for the performance of all the conditions of the treaty, Philip Augustus expressed his wish of returning to Europe. The French nobility attributed to him motives of selfishness; and Richard, with a mixture of seriousness and sarcasm, declared that if the French king were really ill from bodily infirmities or from dread of the enemy, he had better return to

* Vinesauf, iii. 20. Bromton, p. 1191, 1208. Hoveden, 685, and Benedict. p. 630, give the names of most of the great persons who died at Acre. Some of them we have mentioned. Among the others, those which are interesting to the English reader, are Ralph, archdeacon of Colchester, Silvester the seneschal of the archbishop of Canterbury, William earl Ferrers, Robert Scrope, of Barton, Henry Pigot, seneschal of Lord Surry, Walter Scrope, Mowbray, Talbot, and St. John. Vinesauf computes those who died during the siege of Acre at three hundred thousand. Bohadin, p. 189, doubles the number.

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his native air; but that it would be disgraceful to leave the work of the Crusade unperformed. The English monarch, however, consented to his departure; yet dreading the violence of his ambition, he compelled him to swear not to make war upon his allies, until at least forty days after the return of their king. The duke of Burgundy and the largest portion of the French army, it was also stipulated, were to remain in Syria under the com-

July 31. mand of Richard. Philip Augustus went to Tyre, gave to the marquis of that city his moiety, both of Acre and of the Turkish prisoners, and then set sail for Europe.*

Richard repaired the shattered walls and houses of Acre; and the bishop of Salisbury and the rest of the clergy re-edified and con-

* Newborough, iv. 22. Bernardus, Thes. 811. Hoveden, 697. Vinesauf, iii. 12-18. Bohadin, cap. 98-114. Richard resented Philip's keeping the prisoners from him. He sent the bishop of Salisbury to demand them from Conrad. The marquis would not deliver them up, until the duke of Burgundy threatened him with war. Taking his choice of the bad motives which may be attributed to Philip, Robert of Gloucester says that envy was the passion which made him wish to return to Europe.

"So that king Philip was annoyed there at the thing,
"That there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king,
"Vaste he let trossi,* to France for to draw,
"Sori was the king Richard to lose his felawe."

* He commanded his soldiers quickly to make ready for departure.

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secrated the altars.* The piece of holy wood under which the Syrian Christians had so often fought, was still in the hands of the Saracens; and, from bad principle or inability, the two hundred thousand pieces of gold had not been paid to the Croises. Shortly before the expiration of the forty days, Saladin, endeavoured to avert from the prisoners in Richard's hands the doom which was allotted them by the treaty in case of failure of payment. But the English king rejected with disdain his presents and courtesy, murdered all the poorer class of the Muselman prisoners, and reserved the more opulent ones for ransom.†

The lion-hearted monarch prepared for hostile operations; but it was with difficulty that the soldiers would leave the pleasures of Acre. An historian tells us that the wine in the city had already changed the complexion of the gravest Christian knights, and, for the preservation of discipline, women were prohibited from marching with the army.‡ The largesses

* Ben. Ab. p. 665. † See note Q.

‡ The city was abandoned, says Vinesauf, "vino peroptimo "et puellis pulcherrimis; mulieres igitur frequentantes et "vina, nimis dissolute se gerebant quamplurimi, ut civitas "pollueretur a luxuria insipientium, et gula inhabitantium in "ea, a quorum impudentia facies sapientorum contrahebat "ruborem. Ad auferandam autem hujus maculæ rubiginam

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of Richard to the Duke of Austria, the count of Champagne, and others, kept them from following Philip to Europe, and Plantagenet was at the head of nearly thirty thousand French, German, and English soldiers.* These holy warriors left Acre under the glorious ensign of the cross, and marched† in a southerly direction, generally within sight of their ships, which coasted along the shores, bearing forage and provisions, and military necessaries. Clouds of Turks overhung and burst on the advancing army; the red cross knights in the van, and the military friars in the rear, frequently broke the violence of the storm; but the safety of

22 August 1191. March of the Croises from Acre to Azotus.

" spurcitiam procuratum est de consilio, ne qua mulier exiret " a civitate, cum exercitu, sed remanerent in civitate, nisi tan- " tum pedites lotrices quæ non forent oneri nec occasio peccati."

* Triveti Annales, p. 47.

† The army were sadly tormented by tarantulas. The sick people cured the bite by applying theriaca to the part affected. Others (Vinesauf calls them the prudentiores) drove the vermin away by making shouts and noises of every description. Vinesauf, iv. 13, and see before, vol. i. p. 237, note. The practisers of leechcraft, according to the romances of chivalry, had much faith in treacle as a cure for poison, and, indeed, of all diseases. According to T. Bartholinus, the great Danish physician in the middle of the seventeenth century, so much importance was in ancient times attached to this medicine, that the herbs and drugs which entered into the composition of it were publicly exposed previously to the preparation being made. Daillecourt sur les Crusades, p. 324. n.

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the Crusaders was principally owing to the indissoluble firmness of their columns, and their resolute forbearance.* The army always halted at night-fall; heralds thrice cried aloud, "Save the holy sepulchre!" and the soldiers, thus reminded of their duties and their object, immediately with raised hands and tearful eyes implored the pity and the aid of Heaven.† Near Azotus a general engagement could no longer be avoided by Richard. The right of his line was commanded by that heroic and hardy champion of the cross, James D'Avesnes. The duke of Burgundy, a man of doubtful virtue, headed the left: and Plantagenet himself was the stay and bulwark of the centre. The hosts of Syria and Egypt, led by Saladin, made a general and impetuous charge on their foe. The right wing of the Christians was repulsed; the left drove back the Saracens,

* Defensive war was so completely the object of the Crusaders, that each man was covered with pieces of cloth, united together by rings, on which he received without injury the enemy's arrows. Bohadin (who narrates this curious circumstance) adds, that he himself saw several of the Christians who had not one or two, but ten arrows adhering to their backs, and yet who marched forwards with a quiet step, and without trepidation. Bohadin, p. 189. So close did they march, that if an apple had been thrown, it must have struck either a man or a horse. Vinesauf, iv. 17.

† Vinesauf, iv. 9—16.

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but it was drawn by the enemy far from the other divisions of the army. Richard hastened with a select band to the aid of the duke of Burgundy, and Saladin, in his endeavour to strengthen his right wing, removed the weight of hostility from James d'Avesnes. No deep impression had been made on the English lines. The cavalry had often in the course of the battle, when galled by the enemy's arrows, clamoured for leave to attack: Richard was firm, cool, and steady to his purpose. But when he saw that the Turkish quivers were exhausted, and the enemy's impetuosity had led to their confusion, his trumpets sounded the charge, his infantry wheeled behind the cavalry, and the knights giving full scope to their fury, rushed on their scattered foe. The personal bravery of Richard achieved wonders; his countenance, his gestures, his invocations to St. George, seconded the ardour of his troops, and the Turks were driven back with great slaughter to Azotus. The loss of the Christians, though not numerous, was severe, for James d'Avesnes perished, and his death was justly regretted by the king as the loss of a great pillar of the Christian cause.*

Richard defeats Saladin.

* Vinesauf, iv. 17-22. Neubridge, iv. 23. Hoveden, 698. Bohadin, c. 120; and also Peter Langtoft, 187-190, a writer

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The progress of Cœur de Lion was no longer molested, and he quickly arrived at Jaffa. That city was now without fortifications, for when the tide of victory turned from the Muselmans at Azotus, Saladin commanded the dismantling of all his fortresses in Palestine. It was policy to keep his enemies perpetually in the field, and to exhaust them by ceaseless skirmishes and engagements. As the road to Ascalon was open, Richard wished to press his advantages: but the spirit of faction renewed its baneful influence, and the French barons insisted on the necessity of restoring the works of Jaffa. Their opinion was in unfortunate accordance with the inclinations of an army already attenuated by incessant marching, and who thought with regret on the pleasures which had been for awhile familiarized and endeared to them at Acre. It was resolved, therefore, that Jaffa should be re-fortified. Plantagenet, alive to every duty of a general, urged the completion of the works. The soldiers, however, gradually sunk into that state of luxury and idleness, from which they had been with

He marches to Jaffa.

that may be safely followed, except when he mingles his history with the fables in the romance of Richard. Trivet says, that at the battle of Azotus seven thousand Turks and thirty-two of their emirs were slain: and that of the Christians there did not fall a tenth part of that number, nor even a tenth part of a tenth. —Annales, p. 109.

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such difficulty recovered by Richard. The Muselmans roused themselves from the distress and panic of their late defeat at Azotus; they began to collect in the vicinity of Jaffa, and their military appearance awoke the English and French from their disgraceful sleep of licentiousness. Richard, as ardent in pleasure as in war, enjoyed the amusement of falconry, heedless of the enemy. On one occasion the royal party would have paid dearly for their temerity, if a Provençal gentleman, named William de Pratelles, had not cried aloud, "I am the king;" and by this noble lie the attention of the Saracens was drawn upon himself, while the real sovereign escaped.* Shortly afterwards a body of Templars fell into an ambuscade of the Turks. Richard sent the earl of Leicester to the aid of the brave but exhausted knights, and promised to follow straight. Before he could buckle on his coat of steel, he heard that the enemy had triumphed. Despising all personal solicitude, and generously declaring he should not deserve the name of king if he abandoned those whom he had vowed to succour, he flew to the place of combat, plunged into the thickest of the

* The noble Provençal was taken prisoner by the Turks. Richard was not ungrateful, for his last act in the holy land was the purchase of his deliverer's freedom.

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fight, and his impetuosity received its usual reward of success.* The fortifications of Jaffa were at length restored, a vigorous renewal of the war was determined on, and Plantagenet declared to the Saracens that the only way of averting his wrath would be to surrender to him the kingdom of Jerusalem, as it existed in the reign of Baldwin the leper. Saladin did not reject this proposal with disdain, but made a modification of the terms, in offering to yield Palestine from the Jordan to the sea. The negociation lasted for some time. Richard was deceived and cajoled by the presents and blandishments of Saphadin, who was the brother of Saladin, and the Christians were ashamed that their leader should be so friendly with an infidel. The barons soon saw, and compelled their royal lord, to see, the artifice of the Turks, who resumed their attacks, and the negociation was broken off. The soldiers of Richard pursued their course to Ramula; they had taken few precautions against the inclemency of the season; the winds tore up the tents, and the rains spoilt the provisions, and rusted the arms. The earl of Leicester was of especial service in preserving them from the incessant attacks of the Turks. As they approached Jerusalem, they were joined

He advances to Ramula. Nov.

* Vinesauf, 26, 30.

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by those whom they had left at Jaffa, and every person prepared for the completion of his pilgrimage in the holy city. But the Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans, dissuaded the king from attacking Jerusalem, on the arguments, that even if it should be taken, they would immediately have to fight with the Turks in the neighbourhood; and that as soon as that great object of the religious journey, the recovery of the sepulchre, was attained, the soldiers would return to Europe, and leave the holy land to its fate.* The people, who were the objects of these suspicions of inconstancy, murmured and then clamoured at this vacillation of council; but Richard commanded a retreat, and the army fell back upon Ramula, and then continued its retrogression to Ascalon, a city of high consequence in the judgment of the Latins, because it was the link between the Turks in Jerusalem and the Turks in Egypt.† Until the return of the spring, all commerce between Ascalon and other countries was cut off, and the army endured therefore the hardships of famine in addition to the usual severities of the climate. The impatient duke of Burgundy deserted the standard of Richard; some of the French soldiers went to Acre and Jaffa; and

Dissuaded from marching to Jerusalem.

Falls back on Ascalon.

* Vinesauf, iv. 31, 35. † Vinesauf, v. 1.

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others found a welcome reception at the court of the marquis of Tyre. But discontent gave place for a while to better feelings; and, at the solicitations of Plantagenet, most of the deserters returned to their duty. But Conrad disdained an answer to the royal summons. The walls of Ascalon* were soon repaired, for the proudest nobles and the most dignified clergy worked like the meanest of the people. The duke of Austria was the only distinguished man who was wrapped in haughty selfishness, and who could say that he was neither a carpenter nor a mason.† Before indeed the works were completed, Richard lost the aid of his French allies who, more mercenary than chivalric, retired to Acre, because the royal coffers were exhausted, and the king could not give them their stipulated pay. Commercial jealousy as well as military envy, obstructed the Crusades. The Geneose and Pisans made Acre the theatre of their animosities; and an appearance of dignity and disinterestedness was given to their feuds, when they fought in the name and for the

* The Crusaders amused themselves, also, with rebuilding Gaza. They gave it to the Templars, who had enjoyed it before the Saracenian conquest. J. de Vitry, p. 1123, in Bongarsius.

† The cause of the dispute between Richard and the duke of Austria is mentioned in note R.

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interests of their respective friends, Conrad and Guy. The marquis of Tyre joined his troops to the Genoese, and the civil war would have spread through all the Christian powers, if Plantagenet had not marched from Ascalon to Acre. Conrad prudently retraced his steps, and by the address of the English king the breach between the republicans was closed. Richard endeavoured to conciliate the marquis; but the young nobleman aspired to independence and sovereign power, drew seven hundred French soldiers from Ascalon to Tyre, and allied himself with Saladin. When Richard had retired from Jerusalem, and his army became broken, Saladin had dismissed many of his troops to their families and homes; but when he heard of the defection of Conrad, he thought that the moment of active hostility was arrived, and he accordingly spread his standard, and summoned his hosts.* Richard was cool and undismayed at the military port of his enemy, but political disturbances in England demanded the presence of the monarch, and he was compelled to yield to his necessities, and solicit his generous foe to terminate the war. He declared that he required only the possession of the sacred city, and of the true cross. But

March 1192. Fruitless negociation for peace.

* Vinesauf, iv. 36, 37, v. l. 15.

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the Muselman replied, that Jerusalem was as dear to the Moslem as to the Christian world, and that he would never be guilty of conniving at idolatry, by permitting the worship of a piece of wood. Thwarted by the religious principles of his enemies, Richard endeavoured to win upon their softer affections. He proposed a consolidation of the Christian and Muhammedan interests, the establishment of a government at Jerusalem, partly European and partly Asiatic; and these schemes of policy were to be carried into effect by the marriage of Saphadin with the widow of William king of Sicily. The Muselman princes would have acceded to these terms; but the marriage was thought to be so scandalous to religion, that the imams and the priests raised a storm of clamour, and Richard and Saladin, powerful as they were, submitted to popular opinion.* The necessity of Richard's return

* Bohadin, chap. 127, &c. Abulfeda, iv. 111. D'Herbelot, article Salaheddin, vol. iii. 178. In all these negociations, the people of the two armies lived in friendly intercourse, and mingled in the tournament and dance. More than this, through the whole of the war, Saladin and Richard emulated each other as much in the reciprocation of courtesy, as in military exploits. If ever the king of England chanced to be ill, Saladin sent him presents of Damascene pears, peaches, and other fruits. The same liberal hand gave the luxury of snow, in the hot seasons.

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to England grew stronger, and the only cause of his delay was the choice of a military commander of the Christians. The imbecile Guy had but few partizans, and the public voice was in favour of the valiant Conrad: Richard generously overlooked the circumstance, that the prince of Tyre was his enemy, and the friend of Saladin, and consented to the public wish. But while preparations were making for the coronation, Conrad was slain by two of the assassins. In the first moments of indignation, the French declared that Richard had instigated the murderers.* They demanded from the widow of Conrad the resignation of Tyre, but she was too politic to encounter the anger of the king. Count Henry of Champagne appeared in the midst of the tumult; he took the throne upon the invitation of the people, and following the approved precedent, he secured himself from opposition by marrying the widow of Conrad.†

Death of Conrad.

Hoveden, p. 693. Saladin could not but have felt some kindness for gallant warriors, whether Christians or Muselmans, if it be true, that as soon as he was old enough to bear arms, he had requested and received the honour of knighthood from a French cavalier, named Humphrey de Thoron. Hist. Hier. in Bongarsius, p. 1152. Vinesauf, book i. chap. iii.

* On this subject, see note S.

† Vinesauf, v. 16, 28.

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Richard confirmed the election of the people, and the civil war was closed.* The duke of Burgundy and the count of Champagne joined Richard. Disregarding the calls from England, the king led his English and Normans to the fortress of Darum, reduced it, and gave it to the French, whose preparations for the attack had been rendered needless by the superior activity of their allies.† Some new messengers from England brought fresh accounts of the increasing power of Prince John and the treachery of Philip Augustus. The army continued its march towards Jerusalem, and encamped in the valley of Hebron. The generals and soldiers vowed that they would not quit Palestine without having redeemed the sepulchre. Every thing wore the face of joy when this resolution was adopted; Richard participated in the feeling, and although he thought that his presence in England would be the only means of restoring affairs there, yet he professed to the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Champagne, that no solicitation from Europe should prevail with him to leave the allies until after the following Easter. Hymns and thanksgivings testified the popular joy at this resolution; the army

May. Advances towards Jerusalem.

June.

* Vinesauf, v. 35, 37.

† Vinesauf, v. 36, 38. Sanutus, 200.

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recommenced its course; and so sure were the soldiers of a speedy accomplishment of their wishes, that they carried with them only a month's provisions. In every step of their progress they were harassed by flying parties of Saracens; on one occasion the valour of the bishop of Salisbury saved the French division of the Croises; and on another, the ever vigilant earl of Leicester recovered the caravan of stores which the Saracens had seized, on its road from Jaffa to the army.* The nearer the approach of the Christians the greater was the terror of the Muselmans in Jerusalem; many of them prepared to leave the city, and even Saladin was alarmed for its safety.† The Crusaders were at Bethlehem; the French nobility in the council were as clamorous as the people without to press forward; but the mind of Richard vacillated, and he avowed his doubts of the policy of the measure, as his force was not adequate to a siege, and to the keeping up of communications with its stores on the coast. He proposed that they should march to Beritus, to Cairo, or Damascus; but as the barons of Syria, the Templars, and Hospitallers, had a perfect knowledge of Palestine, he thought that their decision should

* Vinesauf, v. 38, 53. † Bohadin, c. 156.

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regulate the proceedings of the army. A council of twenty was accordingly appointed from the military orders, the lords of the holy land, and also the French knights. They learnt that the Turks had destroyed all the cisterns, which were within two miles of the city; they felt that the heats of summer had begun; and for these reasons it was decided that the siege of Jerusalem should be deferred, and that the army should march to some other conquest. As a general, Richard was fully aware of the impolicy of advancing against the sacred city, yet he was unable to suppress his bitter feelings of mortification at a decision which would probably blast the proud hopes that he had indulged of redeeming the sepulchre. A friend led him to a hill which commanded a view of Jerusalem; but, covering his face with a shield, he declared that he was not worthy to behold a city which he could not conquer. The French soldiers uttered invectives and complaints against the decision of the council: Cœur de Lion offered them provisions, ships, and money, if they would obey its decree, and march to Cairo: and although they acquiesced, yet as they were not zealous, Richard remained in inactivity and indecision.* Active

The enterprize abandoned.

* On the history of the circumstances respecting the deserting of the cause of the holy land, see note T.

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hostility against the Saracens was abandoned by the Christians for the fiercer employment of civil rancour and dissensions: and if a retreat had not been commanded, the army would have been totally destroyed by Saladin. Richard could preserve but little order and discipline among the soldiers. Some retired to Jaffa, but Acre was the rendezvous of most of the army. Saladin's spies had communicated to their master the vacillations of the Crusaders' councils; and even before they had quitted the object of their armament, he had sent news of the probable turn of affairs to many of the Muselman states. Hope succeeded to despondency, vigour to relaxation, and twenty thousand horsemen and crowds of infantry were soon collected under the walls of Jerusalem. The Turks actively proceeded to avail themselves of the declining fortunes of the invaders. By the quickest marches Saladin reached Jaffa, and so vigorous was his siege of it, that in a few days one of the gates was broken down, and such of the people as could not defend themselves in the great tower, or escape by sea, were destroyed. Already were the battering rams prepared for execution, when the patriarch and some French and English knights agreed to become the prisoners of Saladin, and that heavy ransoms should be

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Richard's heroism at Jaffa.

fixed for the redemption of the citizens, if succour did not arrive during the next day. Before the morning, however, the brave Plantagenet reached Jaffa. Abandoning the hope of rescuing the holy land from infidel subjection, he was on the point of quitting Acre, and of returning to Europe, when the precipitancy of his Moslem rival opened again all his visions of glory and conquest. The French refused to march; but the Templars and Hospitallers, the Pisans and Genoese, the earl of Leicester and the other English nobles, vowed to save their friends. Richard and some of his troops went by sea to Jaffa; other soldiers took the land course, but were dreadfully distressed by those impediments which Saladin, in anticipation of their approach, cast in their way. Plantagenet was the first who leaped on shore, and the most active with his deadly sword. So furious was their attack, that the astonished Turks deserted the town, and when the army at a little distance saw the standard of Richard planted on the walls, they retreated some miles into the country. Their terror was changed into shame and rage when it was found that the Turkish hosts had been panic-struck by a troop of five hundred men.* Sala-

* Vinesauf, vi. 8-16. M. Paris, 142. Bohadin, c. 163, 164.

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din in the next night attempted to regain his advantages. But the anxiously vigilant Richard started from his tent armed at all points, and called his faithful friends to his side. His arches and cross-bow men formed an impenetrable phalanx; his soldiers that were on horseback (and they were only ten) fought singly like true heroes of chivalry; and when the Turks felt again the edge of the falchion, which had turned the day at Azotus, their panic was renewed. Indeed so splendid and worthy of admiration were the achievements of the *Melech Ric*, that even the brother of Saladin, at one time seeing him dismounted, sent him two horses as tokens of respect.* Richard's victory placed him in a commanding attitude.

It leads to an honourable peace.

Instead of wishing for new battles, he solicited peace; and Saladin, at length exhausted by wars, submitted to necessity. The Christian

Courtesy of the king and of the sultan.

king, and the sultan of Egypt, interchanged expressions of esteem; and as the former avowed his contempt of the vulgar obligation of oaths, they only grasped each other's hands in pledge of fidelity. A truce was agreed upon for three years and eight

* Vinesauf, 20, 22, 23. Some months before the battle of Jaffa, Saphadin had shewn his respect for the military character of Richard, by obtaining from him the honour of knighthood for his (Saphadin's) son. Vinesauf, v. 6.

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months: the fort of Ascalon was to be destroyed; but Jaffa and Tyre, with the country between them, were to be surrendered to the Christians.* The people of the west were also at liberty to make their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, exempt from the taxes which the Saracenian princes had in former times imposed.

Miscellaneous events.

The French soldiers at Acre prepared to return to Europe; but wished first to behold the sepulchre which was so dear and sacred to the Christians. But Richard was indignant at the audacity of men who claimed the benefit of a treaty which no efforts of their own had procured. They had lost the laurel of holy warriors, and they deserved not to bear the pilgrim's palm. The rest of the army visited the hallowed places, and Saladin, alive to every honourable obligation, prevented his subjects from injuring the persons and insulting the feelings of the devout palmers. The bishop of Salisbury was treated with marked respect. The generous Curd admired valour and nobleness even in a Christian, and when the prelate arrived at Jerusalem he was invited to the royal palace. In a familiar conversation Saladin expressed his admiration of the bravery

* Vinesauf, 25-28. D'Herbelot, article Salaheddin, vol. ii. p. 178.

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of Plantagenet, but thought that the skill of the general did not equal the valour of the knight.* The courteous prelate complimented the Muselman by replying that there were not two such warriors in the world as the English and the Syrian monarchs. Often have we had occasion to observe the generosity of Saladin in the moment of victory. At the solicitation of the bishop he allowed establishments of Latin priests in the holy sepulchre, and in the churches of Bethlehem and Nazareth. He had pity, too, on the different barons whom his conquests had dispossessed. He gave to the lord of Sajetta a handsome town near Tyre; to Belian of Ibelin a castle, four miles from Acre; and he restored Caiphas, Cesarea, and Azotus to their respective lords. Count Henry of Champagne became master of Jaffa.†

The loss of many thousand soldiers on the plains of Acre, and the bravery and conduct of the English monarch, had prevented some of the anticipated issues of the battle of Tiberias. Palestine did not become a Muselman colony; and so much of the sea coast was in the hands

* But Saladin might have praised Richard for the steadiness with which he moved from Acre to Azotus, and his coolness and decision during the great battle.

† Vinesauf, vi. 30-36. Cont. William of Tyre, 640.

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of the Christians, and so enfeebled were the enemy, that fresh hostilities could safely be commenced whenever Europe should again pour forth her religious fanatics, and military adventurers. Richard gained more honour in Palestine than any of the emperors of Germany and kings of France who had sought renown in foreign war: and although these distant ages may censure his conduct as unprofitable to his country, yet his actions were in unison with that spirit of the times which looked upon valour as more important than empire, and esteemed achievements in battle more highly than the consequences of victory.

25 Oct. 1192. Richard leaves the holy land.

In the month of October, Richard, with his queen, the English soldiers, and pilgrims, set sail for England. But storms of violence, uncommon even for the boisterous season of autumn, soon scattered his fleet. The people thought that Heaven had directed the elements against them, because Jerusalem was still in the hands of the infidels; and they were convinced of the justice of this condemnation, when they afterwards heard of the death of Saladin, an event which, they thought, would have led them to the accomplishment of the object of their vows. Many of the vessels were wrecked on hostile shores, and the warriors of England, who might once have bade defiance

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to the world, now pennyless, naked, and famished, were led into Saracenic prisons. Other ships fortunately reached friendly ports, and in time returned to Britain. At the end of six weeks from his departure from Acre, Richard was off the Barbary shores, within three days' sail of the port in the south of France whence he had embarked for the holy land. His misfortunes had become known, and he heard that the French lords had resolved to seize him, if he landed in their territories. The condition of his vessel forbad the hope of a safe return to England, and Germany was the only country through which he expected to escape. He purchased the maritime guidance of some pirates, and the course of his vessel was changed from Marseilles to the Adriatic. His companions were Baldwin de Betun, a priest, Anselm the chaplain, and a few Knights Templars. The royal party landed at Zara.* They wished to pursue their route to the north; and accordingly one of them went to the governor of Goritia† for passports, who, unfortunately for Richard, was

Lands in Dalmatia.

* The place of his landing is called, in M. Paris, Gazara. Hoveden proves that it was Zara, for he says it was in the country of Ragusa. Zara is called Jazara by the archbishop of Tyre, lib. ii. c. xxii.

† See the emperor's letter to the king of France, Hoveden, 721.

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nephew of the late marquis of Tyre. The messenger was desired to declare the quality of his masters. He described them as pilgrims, on their return from Jerusalem. "Their names?" asked the governor. "One is called Baldwin de Betun," answered the man; "and the other Hugh the merchant; and the latter has commanded me to give you a ring, as a proof of his good dispositions towards you." The governor admired the beauty and splendour of the ruby;* he was struck with the singularity of the transaction; he naturally thought that he who sent the gift could be no common person; and after weighing the circumstances in his mind, he exclaimed, "The name of the owner of this ring is not Hugh the merchant, but king Richard: tell him, however, that although I have sworn to detain returning pilgrims, yet the magnificence of this gift, and the dignity of the donor, induce me to violate the rule, and to allow your master to pass." Plantagenet heard ith alarm of the discovery which his generosity had occasioned; the knowledge of the circumstance of the dispersion of his fleet was not confined to France, and every Christian monarch was prepared to seize as a prisoner the great champion of the cross. Richard and his friends took to

His adventures in Germany.

* The ring was worth three hundred besants; Richard had lately purchased three of them from a Pisan merchant.

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their horses in the middle of the night, and the news was spread that the king of England was in Germany. The fugitives were unmolested till they reached Frisak, near Saltzburgh. The governor of that country commanded one of his relations, a Norman knight, to examine all travellers. The speech and manner of Plantagenet were marked with curiosity by him, who knew the English character, and his prayers and tears produced an avowal from the king, that the object of his search was discovered. Honorary and pecuniary rewards had been offered as incentives to diligence, but the generous Norman thought only of the safety of his liege lord, entreated him to fly, and presented to him a swift horse. He then returned to his master, and told him that Baldwin de Betun and his companions were the only pilgrims in the town, and the report that Richard was of the party was false and ridiculous. The governor, however, relied upon the certainty of his previous information, suspected the old knight of deceit, and issued orders for the detention of strangers. Six of the English were put into prison, but the king escaped, accompanied only by William de Stagno, and a boy who understood the German language. After travelling for three days and three nights, and scarcely ever stopping for refreshments, Richard

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arrived at a town near Vienna. He heard that the duke of Austria was in the place, and he knew that that haughty impetuous nobleman remembered him with feelings of hatred, because in the siege of Acre the English monarch had checked his arrogance and presumption. The fugitives were so much harassed that they could not pursue their course. The German boy was sent to the market-place in order to purchase provisions; and as he had experienced the generosity of his master, he was usually dressed with elegance and nicety. The contrast of the vulgar demeanor and the handsome clothes of the youth, attracted the attention of the people; they demanded his name and condition, and he replied that he was the servant of a very rich merchant, who three days before had arrived in the town. The boy saw that his story was not credited, and on his return to the king he advised his immediate escape. But Richard was ill and weary, and totally unable to depart. The boy continued his visits to the market-place, and for some days attracted no further notice: but on one occasion the citizens saw in his girdle a pair of such gloves as were usually worn by kings. The poor lad was immediately seized and scourged, and the threat of cutting out his tongue if he did not tell the truth, drew from him the secret of the real quality of his

21st Dec.

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Taken prisoner.

master. The Austrian soldiers immediately surrounded the house of Richard, and the king, knowing the fruitlessness of resistance, offered to resign his sword. The duke advanced and received it, and in the excess of his joy he treated him for a while with respect.* But it was soon apparent that Plantagenet was his prisoner and not his guest.† The king of England was confined in Gynasia till the following Easter, when he was sold to the em-

* The story of Otho de Blaise, respecting the mode in which Richard was discovered, is as follows:—"The king entered a "house of public entertainment in a town near Vienna, and, in "order that no suspicion might be excited concerning his "rank, he busied himself in turning the spit. He forgot, how-"ever, to conceal a splendid ring which he wore on his finger. "A man who had known his person at Acre recognized him, "and gave the news to the duke." O. de Blaise, in Muratori, vol. vi. cap. 38, p. 894.

† For here, though Cœur de Lion like a storm
Pour on the Saracens, and do perform
Deeds past an angel, arm'd with wrath and fire,
Ploughing whole armies up, with zealous ire,
And walled cities, while he doth defend
That cause that should all wars begin and end;
Yet when with pride, and for humane respect,
The Austrian colours he doth here deject
With too much scorn, behold at length how fate
Makes him a wretched prisoner to that state;
And leaves him, as a mark of fortune's spight,
When princes tempt their stars beyond their light.

Ben Jonson.

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peror of Germany. Henry VI. removed him to a castle in the Tyrol; and the prison was so strong, that no one had ever escaped from it. But in the mind of a tyrant, mountains form not impenetrable barriers, and walls are a doubtful security. Imperial cruelty therefore commanded that armed men should always be present in the chamber of Richard, and that he should never speak in private to any of his companions. Sometimes the royal captive calmed his angry soul by singing the warlike deeds of the heroes of romance. At other times he diverted melancholy by the composition of poems; in one of which he declares, with simple pathos, that his barons well knew that he would have ransomed any of his companions who had been overtaken by a misfortune similar to his own; but he would not reproach them, although he was a prisoner.* Occasionally he forgot his misfortunes, and the apparent negligence of his friends. His native hilarity conquered the bitterness of his spirit; he laughed at the frequent intoxication of his jailors, he sported the keenness of his wit, and in the boisterousness of his merriment displayed his personal strength and agility. He was soon removed to Haguenau, where he was

* See note U.

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treated with respect by the emperor, and he was afterwards immured in a prison at Worms.*

The king of France rejoiced at the calamities of his rival, and implored the emperor never to allow him again to molest the world. Philip Augustus then invaded Normandy; and after having met with some successes, laid siege to Rouen: but he was repulsed by the earl of Leicester, who had lately returned from Palestine, and whose valour was as conspicuous in political as in religious wars. Prince John made another attempt to seat himself on the English throne; but the barons were indignant at his perfidiousness to his brother, and sympathised with their imprisoned king.† Queen Eleanora wrote two long and plaintive letters to the Pope on the subject of her son's confinement. She thought that it would be no degradation of Papal dignity, if Celestine would make personal intercession for Richard's liberation. The princes of the earth were agreed to destroy a Christian king, and yet the sword of St. Peter remained in its scabbard.‡ The Pope accordingly threatened the emperor and French king with excommunication, unless the one gave freedom to Richard, or the other did

* For further remarks on Richard's adventures, see note X.

† Bromton, 1252. Neubridge, iv. 34. Hoveden, 724.

‡ Rymer, i. 57, 58. new edit.

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not cease from his barbarous wars.* The ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany assembled in diet at Worms in the month of July; and Richard, attended by the bishops of Bath and Ely, was brought before them. He was arraigned by the emperor for the crimes of supporting an usurper in Sicily, of quarrelling with the king of France, of insulting the duke of Austria, and of murdering the marquis of Tyre, who was a relation of the emperor. To all these charges Richard replied in so clear and argumentative a manner, that the members of the diet were filled with admiration of him; and, no suspicion of guilt remained in their minds.† Richard, however, was treated by the emperor as a prisoner of war; a treaty was concluded between them, by which the English monarch was to obtain his liberty on payment of one hundred thousand marks of silver, according to the Cologne standard, and the delivery of hostages for thirty thousand marks to the emperor, and twenty thousand to the duke of Austria.‡ The great council of England immediately imposed taxes for the amount of the first payment of the

July 1193. His trial at Worms.

* Hoveden, 725. † See note Y.

‡ Speaking of Richard's ransom, Otho de Blaise (Muratori, vi. 895) says, he must not venture to mention the sum, for if he did, he should not expect to be believed.

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ransom; and although the wishes of the nation were in accordance with its decrees, yet the money was with great difficulty collected.* In the month of October, Richard was removed from his dungeon at Worms to one at Spires; and his imprisonment was to be terminated at the assembly of the diet at Christmas. The emperor and the princes of Germany assembled, the imperial commissioners appeared with the one hundred thousand marks, and Queen Elea-

* Hoveden, 725. Waverly, 164. The poverty of the nation was only pretended, for Bromton relates, that when some German nobles entered London with Richard, in March 1194, they were struck with the magnificence of the city, and exclaimed, that the people had been wise in concealing their wealth, which, if known to the emperor, a larger ransom would have been required, p. 1256, 1258. Caxton and Stow are wrong in saying that all the ransom was paid in coin. Bullion would be more valuable to the emperor than English money. The plate ornaments of the churches were melted down together into bars or ingots. Some stamp might have been put upon them in order to denote their goodness. The word mark expressed in old times both coin and weight in silver: and the treaty mentions Cologne weight, and not English sterling. See Ruding's Annals of the Coinage, i. 336—338. North's Remarks on Clarke's Conjectures, p. 34, &c. An old traveller through Germany, towards the close of the seventeenth century, says, "that the ransom of Richard beautified Vienna; and the "two walls round the city, the one old and inward, little con-"siderable at present, were built with the ransom of Richard "I." Brown's Travels through Germany, p. 74, 4to. 1677.

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nora with the hostages; but the friends of Philip and John offered the emperor such large sums of money for the extension of the captivity of Richard, or his delivery into their hands, that the irresolute Henry VI. postponed the subject till the meeting of the diet at Mayence at the end of January. In that conference of the German princes perpetual imprisonment seemed at one moment to be the fate of Richard, for the emperor declared he would cancel the treaty, and would accept the noble offers of Philip and John. But the clerical and secular princes of Germany were so highly indignant at this projected violation of the honour of their country, that they compelled their lord to accept the money and hostages of the English king. Richard was released on the 6th of February. The archbishop of Cologne and other noblemen paid him the highest honour as he passed though their territories on his road to Antwerp, whence he embarked for England, and landed at Sandwich.*

His return to England, March 1194.

* M. Paris, 147. Bromton, 1252-1257. Hoveden, 731-734.

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THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES.

Death and character of Saladin—His successors—Pope Celestine III. promotes a Crusade—It is embraced by Germany—Adventures of the Germans in Palestine—Fair prospect of complete success—Ruin of the cause—Return to Europe of some of the Germans—and massacre of the rest at Jaffa—Death of Henry, king of Jerusalem — Almeric and Isabella, the new king and queen—Character of Fulk, preacher of the fifth Crusade—Politics of the Papacy respecting the Crusades—Pope Innocent III. promotes a new Crusade—It is embraced by France and Flanders—The barons wish for the maritime aid of Venice—Embassy to Venice—Treaty between the republic and the envoys—Departure of the Croises—Arrival at Venice—Suspension of the Crusade—Subjugation of Zara—Papal politics—Grecian politics—The Croises sail to Constantinople—Attack and siege of the city—Captured by the Croises—Revolution in the Government—Another Revolution—The Croises renew the War—Their complete victory—Sack of Constantinople—Division of the plunder—Vengeance of the Croises on the fine arts—Election of a Latin Emperor—General remarks on the empire of the Latins in Greece.

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WHILE Palestine was enjoying independence and peace, an event occurred that promised it

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confirmation of the security of which Richard's victories had held out a prospect. Saladin died; he was in the fifty-seventh year of his age; during twenty-two years he had reigned over Egypt, and for nineteen was absolute master of Syria. No Asiatic monarch has filled so large a space in the eyes of Europe as the antagonist of Cœur de Lion. He was a compound of the dignity and the baseness, the greatness and the littleness of man. As the Moslem hero of the third holy war, he proved himself a skilful general, and a valiant soldier. He hated the Christian cause, for he was a zealous Muselman: and his principles authorized him to make war upon the enemies of the prophet: but human sympathy mollified the rigour of his enthusiasm, and when his foes were suppliants, he often forgot the sternness of Islamism. He was fond of religious exercises and studies; but his mind was so much above the age in which he lived, that he never consulted soothsayers and astrologers. He had gained the throne by blood, artifice and treachery; but though ambitious, he was not tyrannical; he was mild in his government; the friend and dispenser of justice. Eager for the possession, but indifferent to the display of power, thinking more of the substance than the pageantry of grandeur, he was simple in manners, and unostentatious in deport-

Death and character of Saladin. A.D.1193.

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ment. He attempted by conciliation and tuition to change the religious sentiments of the Egyptian Fatimites; but the intolerant spirit of his religion would sometimes appear; the politician was lost in the zealot, and he inflicted punishment on those who presumed to question any of the dogmas of a Muselman's creed.*

His successors.

Wars and rebellions had filled all the thoughts of Saladin, and he had established no principles of succession. Three of his numerous progeny became sovereigns of Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt; others had smaller possessions, and the emirs and atabeks of Syria again struggled for independence. The soldiers of the late sultan rallied round his brother Saphadin, whose wisdom and valour were familiar to them. Both by stratagem and liberal policy he reared a large fabric of empire† in Syria, and he was the most powerful of all the Moslem princes, when the time for the expiration of the peace arrived.

* Abulfeda, iv. 133, 141. Bohadin, passim, and De Guignes, ii. 237. D'Herbelot, art. Salaheddin, and see note Z.

† Saphadin's power was, however, only personal; for in 1218, the year of his death, the half-extinguished embers of civil discord blazed afresh: some of Saladin's children and the atabeks enjoyed Syria, till they were swept away by the successors of Zinghis Khan. Egypt was ruled by a descendant of Saladin; but the Mamelukes usurped the throne, and, as they were of the same blood as the Tartars, they were invincible.

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The Saracenic power was, however, palsied for a while by a dreadful famine in Egypt, and the Latins in Palestine suffered also from the miserable state of this general granary. The knights of St. John cast their regards towards Europe, and particularly to England, for succour, and entreated that new armies would march to Palestine, and destroy the exhausted Moslems.* Two years before this favourable moment, the daring and ambitious Pope Celestine III. had again sounded the trumpet of war. He exhorted the archbishops and bishops of the Christian church to persuade their congregations to spread the crimson standard, and to march against the persecutors of the faith of Jesus Christ. Plenary indulgence was offered to those faithful soldiers, and the protection of the church to their families and possessions. France had not revived from its losses in the third crusade, and Philip Augustus heard the appeal with indifference. Many of the people of England enrolled their names as holy warriors, obtained spiritual absolution, and then abandoned their pious resolves. The Pope hurled his thunders against those who deserted their profession, except for some legitimate cause; but all

Pope Celestine III. promotes a crusade. A.D. 1195.

* See the grand master's letter to the prior in England, Hoveden, p. 827.

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thoughts of a crusade gradually died away in England, for the king was too much occupied in political concerns to encourage it.* But wild schemes of war were occasionally in his mind, and the early writers have ascribed to his dauntless spirit the vast design of conquering Egypt, and after having gained the holy land, of possessing himself of the throne of Constantinople.†

Designs equally ambitious were entertained of the emperor Henry, the enemy of Plantagenet. Seconded by imperial influence, the clergy successfully preached the crusade through all the German states. The emperor declared that he would provide a passage for both rich and poor who wished to go.‡ But though influenced, he was not absorbed by the love of barren glory, and when the possession of Sicily seemed an easy achievement, he postponed the gathering of laurels in Palestine, till he had added a great state to his empire in Europe. Tancred, prince of Sicily, had lately died, and Henry, in right of his wife Constantia, put in his claims. This defection from the holy war was declared to be in accordance with the

* M. Paris, 150. † Sanutus, lib. iii. pars xi. ch. i.
‡ Cont. William, p. 643.

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opinions of his wisest princes and lords, and it did not quench the spirit of fanaticism and romance. From the north to the south of Germany, the frenzy of crusading had spread, and it had infected the bishops of Bremen, Wurtsburg, Passau, and Ratisbon; the dukes of Saxony, Brabant, Bavaria, and the son of the duke of Austria; the marquis of Brandenburg and Moravia; the landgrave of Thuringia; the count Palatine, and the counts of Habsburg and Schwembourg. Both laymen and clergy burnt with divine zeal, and received the sign of the sufferings of Christ in token of the remission of their sins.* The son of Henry duke of Limberg, and the archbishop of Mayence, led the vanguard of the holy warriors; and in the passage through Hungary they were joined by Margaretta, sister of the French king and queen of Hungary, who, as one mode of consolation for the loss of her husband, had vowed to pass the remainder of her life in the pains of pilgrimage. Though the time of peace, as settled by the treaty between Richard and Saladin, had expired, yet the Christians and Muselmans continued to live in amity. When the new champions of the cross arrived at Acre, no remonstrances of the Latins against fresh

It is embraced by Germany.

* Chron. Slav. lib. v. c. i. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 115.

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Adventures of the Germans in Palestine.

wars, no suggestions that all new Crusaders ought to be obedient to the discretion of the residents in the holy land, could abate the furious desire of the Germans for hostility. Their aggressions were quickly returned by the Muselmans, civil feuds were hushed, and Saphadin again headed the veteran forces of Syria and of Egypt. The important city of Jaffa was taken by him before the Christian army from Acre could relieve it. The care and expense of Richard were dissipated in a moment; the fortifications were destroyed, and several thousands of the people of Jaffa were put to the sword. In these unhappy moments, another portion of the German force, under the command of the dukes of the Lower Lorraine and Saxony, arrived at Acre. They had made the voyage from the northern ports of Germany, and in their route had chastised the Moors of Portugal. Confident in their strength, the united forces of Europe and Palestine, led by the duke of Saxony, directed their march towards the city of Beritus; but Saphadin, ever observant of events, quitted the vicinity of Jaffa, and overtook his foes between Tyre and Sidon. The close columns of the duke of Saxony's army were impenetrable to his vigorous and continual attacks. The victory of the Christians appeared to be decisive, the ene-

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my's force was scattered, and so extensive was the panic, that the Saracens abandoned Laodicea, Gabala, Jaffa, Sidon, and Beritus. Nine thousand prisoners were redeemed without ransom: and the statement that there were three years' provisions for the inhabitants of Beritus in the storehouses of that town, shews the importance of the day of Sidon. The exultation of the Crusaders was still further advanced, by the arrival of a third body of friends, headed by Conrad, bishop of Hidelsheim and chancellor of the German empire. By the usual process of ambitious princes, Henry had subjugated Sicily, and now devoted to the conquest of the Holy Land, he sent his third army as his immediate precursors.*

Fair prospect of complete success.

It seemed that the hour was now at hand when Europe would receive the reward of her invincible heroism. All the sea-coast of Palestine was already in the possession of the Christians; and even they who had generally most desponded, were now elevated with the conviction that the cross must ere long surmount the walls of Jerusalem. But in their march from

* The continuation of the Chronica Slavorum, by Arnold of Lubec, lib. v. c. iii., and a letter of the duke of Lorraine on the subject of the war to the archbishop of Cologne, in the second vol. of Freher, Rer. Scrip. Germ. p. 362. Bernardus, 816, 818. Hoveden, 722. Abulfeda, iv. 165.

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Ruin of the cause.

Tyre towards the holy city, they made a fatal halt at the fortress of Thoron. The lofty and solid pile of stones withstood the attacks of the common engines of violence. But by a month's labour of some Saxon miners, the rock itself which supported the fortress was pierced through; and the battlements tottered to their foundation. The Saracens were now at the feet of the Christians suing for clemency. A free passage into the Moslem territories was all that they asked, and the fort might then be at the disposal of the Crusaders. After much time had been passed in balancing considerations of revenge or mercy, a treaty founded on these terms was signed; but although just principles of war prevailed with the majority, yet the smaller party, who breathed nothing but slaughter, impressed their menaces so deeply on the minds of the Saracens, that the latter vowed to submit to the last extremity, rather than confide in the agreements and oaths of champions of the cross.* They gained resolution from despair; they met their foes in the passages which had been mined in the rocks: and in every encounter the Moslem

* Indeed the Arabic writers state that the French soldiers assured the garrison that the Germans would slay them even if they surrendered.

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scimitar reeked with Christian blood. Factious contentions disordered the Latin council; insubordination and vice raged in the camp; and, to crown their miseries, the Croises heard that the Infidel world had recovered from its defeat at Sidon, and that the sultans of Egypt and Syria were concentrating their levies. Daunted at the rumour of their march, the German princes deserted their posts in the middle of the night, and fled to Tyre. In the morning their flight was discovered by the soldiers, and horror and despair seized every breast. The camp was deserted by those who had strength to move: the feeble left their property, the cowardly their arms behind them. The road to Tyre was filled with soldiers and baggage in indiscriminate confusion; but so exhausted was the state of the Muselmans in Thoron, that the Christians were not molested in their retreat by any accidents except those which their own imprudence and precipitation occasioned.*

When the fragments of the army were collected, and the soldiers were at a distance from danger, every one reproached the other as the cause of the late disgraceful event. The Germans accused the Latins of cowardice; and the

* Chron. Slav. lib. vi. c. 4, and 5. Hoveden, 773.

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barons of the holy land declared that they would not submit to the domineering pride of the Germans.* Conrad and his soldiers went to Jaffa, and resolved to repair its fortifications, and to wait the moment for revenge on the Latins of Syria. Saphadin marched against them, and the Germans did not decline the combat. Victory was on the side of the Christians; but it was bought by the death of many brave warriors, particularly of the duke of Saxony, and of the son of the duke of Austria. But the Germans did not profit by this success, for news arrived from Europe that the great support of the crusade, Henry VI. was dead. The archbishop of Mayence, and all those princes who had an interest in the election of a German sovereign, deserted the holy land. The queen of Hungary was the only individual of consequence whose fanaticism was stronger than worldly considerations. The remnants, and they were more than twenty thousand, of this once powerful host, fortified themselves in Jaffa. But a new storm arose in the Turkish states. It swept over Beritus and the land of the Christians;

Return to Europe of the Germans,

* All the quarrels were conducted in scriptural language. Treachery was the crime of which each party accused the other; for the case of Judas was in the minds of all.

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and, on the eleventh of November, while the Germans were celebrating the feast of St. Martin, the Moslems entered the city of Jaffa, and slew every individual whom they found.*

Nov. 1197, and massacre of the rest at Jaffa.

About the time of the massacre at Jaffa, Henry count of Champagne, the acknowledged king of Jerusalem, died.† Private pleasures alone had charms for him, and he never executed the few offices of royalty which still formed the duties of the lord of the holy land. The barons always desired to preserve in Palestine the semblance of a kingdom, for their proud spirit would not own the full extent of the Moslems' victories, and if no appearances of state were preserved, Europe would think that the whole of Palestine was lost. The grand master of the Hospitallers represented to Isabella the propriety of her marriage with Almeric de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who had lately succeeded

Death of Henry, king of Jerusalem.

* Old Fuller says, "At this time, the spring-tide of their "mirth so drowned their souls, that the Turks coming in upon "them, cut every one of their throats to the number of twenty "thousand: and quickly they were stabbed with the sword "that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch (the "Germans) may well write in their calendars in red letters "dyed with their own blood, when the camp was their shambles, "the Turks their butchers, and themselves the Martinmasse "beeves, from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little." Holy War, book 3, c. 16.

† Bernardus, p. 815.

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his brother Guy. It was thought that Acre and its vicinity could not remain in the hands of the Latins, unless they were governed by a king, and that, in every circumstance, Cyprus, as a place of succour and retreat, would be a valuable ally to Jerusalem. With equal truth it might have been argued, that, if there were a powerful king in Palestine, faction, the great foe of the state, could not raise its head. Familiarized to the joys of royalty and love, the widowed queen embraced with rapture new prospects of happiness, and in her eyes Almeric was as estimable as she had found her divorced husband Humphry, or her deceased lords Conrad and Henry. The union was approved of by the clergy and barons, it was celebrated at Acre, and Almeric and Isabella were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus and Jerusalem.*

Almeric and Isabella, new king and queen.

Character of Fulk, preacher of the fifth Crusade.

The third and fourth Crusades were created by the ordinary influence of papal power and royal authority; but the fifth sprung from genuine fanaticism.† At the close of the twelfth century a hero arose in France, worthy of companionship with Bernard. Fulk, of the town of Nuilly, near Paris, was distinguished

* Cont. William, II. 16. Sanutus, 201.

† The authorities for the fourth and fifth Crusades are described in note A A.

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by the vehemence and ability of his preaching; and as in early life he had drank deeply of the cup of pleasure, he was well qualified to describe the different states of the sinner and the saint. He did not involve himself in the speculative absurdities of the day, but declaimed against the prevailing vices of usury and prostitution. For two years he preached without success, but after that time Heaven lent its aid to the efforts of the preacher, in order that his words, like arrows from a powerful bow, might penetrate the depraved hearts of men.* Accordingly, miracles attested celestial approbation, and his sermons were received as oracles. With the extension of his fame his wishes for religious good increased, and his soul was inflamed with the desire of accomplishing the great aim of Christendom. He accordingly assumed the cross, and war with the infidels became the copious matter of his sermons. When the people saw that the man of God was signed with the sanguinary badge, and heard him promise to become their leader, the rich and the poor, the noble and the

* Sed pius Conditor nolens Prædicatoris sui semina ulterius deperire, contulit voci Prædicatris sui vocem virtutis, ut verba ejus quasi saggittæ potentis acutæ, hominum prava corda, consuetudine obdurata penetrarent, et ad lachrymas et pænitentiam emollirent. Rad. Coggehalensis.

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ignoble, the old and the young of both sexes thronged around him, and received from him with devout alacrity the insignia of holy warriors. His miracles and preaching were soon reported in Italy, and the pope bestowed upon his exertions the apostolical benediction.

Politics of the papacy in the Crusades.

At the early age of thirty-six, Innocent III. was seated in the papal chair, and he discharged the high duties of his august station with the same ardour with which he had pursued his studies in the solitude of the cloister. Since the days of Gregory VII. the papacy had not been filled with a more arrogant and aspiring prelate. He was the first pope that endeavoured to include the fortunes as well as the consciences of men in the dominion of the holy see. Louis, and Philip Augustus, kings of France, and Henry II. king of England, had imposed taxes on their subjects for the benefit of the Crusades, and these precedents were embraced by Innocent. Following the suggestions of an ambitious spirit, his military predecessor Gregory wished to arm Europe against Asia. Personal interest had induced Urban to adopt and encourage the general wish for the redemption of the holy sepulchre. For a whole century papal protection, superstition, and valour kept the flame alive. But when Innocent, for the avowed purpose of supporting the Crusades,

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presumed to tax the clergy, a new character was given to the sacred wars, and a new impulse to the minds of men. The pecuniary levies were not meant for the benefit of Palestine, but for the filling of the coffers of Rome. For the gratification of his luxury and avarice, therefore, the pope became interested in the Crusades. Each time of his inspiring the people with religious ardour was the season for general plunder; for although the tax was nominally on the clergy alone, yet every artifice was used to drain money from the laity. All the influence of papal royalty was for a while exercised in the promotion of Crusades, and the animating counsels of the Vatican checked the chivalry of Europe from sinking into despair.

Innocent III. wrote to the various temporal and spiritual chiefs* of Christendom, requiring them to take up arms for the defence of Palestine, or at least to send him considerable succours of men and money. His nuncios travelled through Europe preaching the holy theme; and the pardons and indulgences which they offered,

Innocent III. proclaims a fifth Crusade. A.D. 1200.

* He even wrote to the heretical emperor of Constantinople to permit the Crusade. Vit. Innoc. III. Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. vol. iii. p. 507. The departure of the Germans from the holy land, and the divisions among the Muselman princes, are the circumstances upon which the pope chiefly builds his arguments for the necessity of a new war.

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induced many men to become soldiers of God.* The pope commanded the clergy to contribute the fortieth part of their revenues, and to place boxes in the churches for the reception of the alms of the laity. The imposition was complied with, and the voluntary oblations of the princes and people equalled the amount of the contributions of the clergy.† The military spirit of the day directed religious ardour, and some noble knights prevented the preaching of Fulk, and the commands of Innocent, from producing no effect than that of enriching the treasury of the Vatican. At a public tournament in Champagne, Thibaud III.‡ the youthful count of that province, and his relation, the count Louis of Blois and Chartres, resolved to exchange the image of war for its reality. Reginald of Mont-

It is embraced in France and Flanders.

* Villehardouin, No. 1. Porce que cil pardons fu issi gran, si s'en esmeurent mult li cuers des gens, et mult s'en croisierent, porce que li pardons ere si gran.

† Baluz. vit. Inn. in Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. iii. 526. See too Hoveden, p. 828. We can well understand with Diceto that not much of this money was applied by the pope to religious purposes.

‡ Villehardouin (No. 19) says that no baron of France had more vassals than the count of Champagne. He had one thousand eight hundred knights in complete feudal tenure, and four hundred by inferior ties. Du Cange, note on No. 4. Thibaud and Louis were nephews both of Richard king of England, and Philip Augustus of France. Du Cange, note 2. Thibaud was a brother of the late Henry king of Jerusalem.

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mirail, and Simon de Montfort,* two of the noblest barons of France, and a proud corps of gentlemen, vowed to partake of the glory of their friends: and the people of the Netherlands would not want a leader, for Baldwin, count of Flanders, and brother-in-law of Thibaud, received the cross at Bruges.

1200. The barons wish for the maritime aid of Venice.

The counts and barons met in deliberation at the parliament of Soissons, and afterwards at Compeigne. By sad experience Europe had learned the horrors of a land journey to Palestine. The kings of France and England had made their military pilgrimage by sea. The resources of two powerful kingdoms were at the command of Philip Augustus and Richard, but the barons of Champagne were destitute of all maritime advantages, and they therefore determined to purchase the aid of one of the great naval powers of Europe. Thibaud, Baldwin, and Louis invested six of their friends with authority to conclude a treaty with the Venetians, and these deputies immediately repaired to Venice. Henry Dandalo,† the doge, and the prin-

Embassy to Venice

* This Simon de Montfort, lord of the Mantois between Chartres and Paris, was the father of the Simon de Montfort, who, by marriage with the sister of the earl of Leicester, succeeded to that title of English nobility. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 677.

† Henry Dandalo was eighty-four years of age on the 1st of June 1192, when he was elected doge. Du Cange on Ville-

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cipal citizens, received their illustrious visitors with distinction, but were astonished on learning the general nature of their powers; and their surprise was not diminished when the deputies declared that they could only reveal the details of their object to the general council of the state. With the required solemnities they professed that they came to Venice to procure, upon any terms which the queen of the Adriatic should dictate, the aid of her ships and maritime necessaries in order to assist the barons of France in their endeavour to reconquer Jerusalem and to revenge the wrongs of Jesus Christ. After several days had been passed in deliberation on this important message, Henry Dandalo announced to the deputies that the republic would, for eighty-five thousand marks of silver, according to Cologne weight, furnish flat bottomed vessels for the passage of four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, and ships for four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot soldiers; and provisions were also to be furnished for one year. Venice would likewise become a principal in the war, and support fifty gallies

Treaty between the republic and the envoys.

hardouin, 204. It by no means appears that Dandalo had totally lost his sight. The expression of the Chronicler Dandalo is that he was visu debilis, p. 322. See too Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 11, c. 1. Sabellicus, Hist. Venet. dec. 1. lib. 7.

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of her own, on condition that all acquisitions should be equally shared between the two allied nations.* The deputies cheerfully submitted to these terms. The council of ten and the grand council supported the doge, and a solemn assembly of the people was held in the Chapel of St. Mark for the final ratification of the treaty. The marshal of Champagne addressed the assembly: "Signors," said he, "the most noble and powerful barons "of France have sent us to you, in order to "entreat you in the name of God to have com- "passion on Jerusalem, which groans under "the tyranny of the Turks, and to aid us on "this occasion in revenging the injury which "has been done to your Lord and Saviour. "The barons of France have turned their "eyes to you as the greatest maritime power in "Europe. They have commanded us to throw "ourselves at your feet, and never to change "that supplicatory posture till you have pro- "mised to aid them in recovering the holy "land." The simple eloquence of Villehar-

* See the treaty in Andrew Dandalo's Chronicle, Muratori, xii. 323. Sismondi appears to be right in estimating the mark at fifty livres, and the sum total will be four millions two hundred and fifty thousand livres, modern French money, by no means an unreasonable charge. Hist. des Républiques Ital., vol. ii. p. 383, n.

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douin, the tears and humble attitude of his companions, touched the hearts of the people. Cries of "We grant your request," sounded through the hall. The treaty was sealed by the deputies and the grand council, and after the conditions had been ratified by oaths, it was sent to the pope for his confirmation. The deputies borrowed two thousand marks from some Venetian merchants, and paid them to the state. They then quitted the republic: two returned straight to Champagne, and others went to Pisa and Genoa, in order to awaken those republics from dreams of avarice to the visionary delights of fanaticism. Villehardouin repaired to France with the welcome news of the conclusion of the treaty with the Venetians. Thibaud sprung from the bed of sickness, called for his war-horse, and declared his intention immediately to march. But this effort was his last. The debility which succeeded this exertion gave his disease opportunity to increase, and he expired in the act of distributing to his feudatories the money which he had intended to expend upon the holy war.* The command of the knights and people who had enlisted under his banner was successively refused by the duke of Burgundy and the count of Bar, and finally accepted by Boniface, marquis of Mont-

1201.

* Villehardouin, 19.

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ferrat.* In the church of Soissons the cross was affixed to his shoulder by the hands of some priests, and particularly by Fulk of Nuilly.

Departure of the Crusaders.

Shortly after Easter, in the year 1202, the French Crusaders assembled. The renewed exertions of Fulk had often been successful in changing superstition into enthusiasm, but on the other hand, as two years had elapsed since the cross had been assumed by the people, the zeal of many had cooled, and they basely applied to worldly purposes the money which the count of Champagne had bequeathed to them for the holy war.† After having traversed France, the soldiers of Champagne crossed Mount Cenis into Lombardy, joined the Italian Crusaders under the Marquis Montferrat, and finally arrived at Venice, where they were lodged in the island of St. Nicholas. The bishop of Autun, and many of the French, embarked at Marseilles and other ports for the

Arrival at Venice.

* He was younger brother of the celebrated Conrad, marquis of Tyre.

† Fulk did not live to hear the issue of his exertions. He died while the French were at Venice in 1202. He was buried in the church of Nuilly. Du Cange adds (note on Villehardouin, No. 37), "Son tombeau se voit encore à present en "l'eglise de Nuilly, où l'on rend l'honneur deu à la memoire de "ce saint homme, et particulierement és jours solemnnels, "ausquels on couvre ce tombeau d'un drap de soye, et le Curé, "aprés avoir été aux autels, y donne de l'encens."

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holy land, and if the marshal of Champagne, and the count of St. Paul, had not met and remonstrated with count Louis and his force in Lombardy, the soldiers of Blois would, like many other Croises, have sailed from the eastern shores of Italy, and have left the Flemish and Champagne knights to accomplish the treaty with the Venetians.*

The Venetians were munificent and liberal to the honourable strangers, but instances of defection from the cause had been so numerous, that the Crusaders were unable to make a corresponding return in money.† The counts of Flanders, and Blois, and St. Paul, and the marquis of Montferrat, sold all their jewels, but thirty four-thousand marks were still wanting. The high-minded cavaliers resolved to pawn their lives rather than fail in their promise to the Venetians, but the timid and lukewarm began to rejoice at any probability of the breaking up of the enterprize. In this exigency the doge suggested an equivalent. The town of Zara,‡ in the Adriatic, off the

Suspension of the Crusade.

* Villehardouin—the first twenty-nine paragraphs. Ramusio, p. 29.

† By the conditions of the treaty the money was to be paid to the Venetians *before* the sailing of the expedition. Mercantile caution!

‡ Jadera is the Roman, Diodora the barbarous, and Zara the modern name for this town. It was originally a Roman colony,

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Dalmatian coast, had revolted from the republic to Hungary. Henry Dandalo solicited the Crusaders to assist in its reduction, and it was agreed that the payment of their contribution should be deferred till they had conquered the infidel Saracens. The doge himself, old and feeble as he was, offered to be their leader. He put on the cross, and some of the Venetians (the historians lament the paucity of the number) imitated his piety and courage. The French were at that time reinforced by a large body of Germans, led by the bishop of Halberstadt, armed with the artillery of the age. The soldiers of the cross* were transported to Zara; the ships broke through the chain which defended the port, and the troops disembarked. The terror of their arms would have produced a bloodless revolution, if some disaffected soldiers had not assured the Zaradenes that the French

and on one of its marbles is the inscription that Cæsar Augustus was its founder. The Turks have often attempted to take it from the Venetians. Bajazet the Great was successful in 1498; but it was recovered. The present population is between four and five thousand. Cassas, Voyage de Dalmatia, p. 83, Paris, 1802.

* The marquis of Montferrat, however, would not accompany them. The Pope had forbidden the enterprise: and the marquis was the only leader who, on that occasion, respected his authority. Villehardouin, No. 39, and note.

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were not disposed to co-operate with the Venetians. Dandalo called on the barons to prove the truth or the falsehood of the charge; and the vigour with which the noble cavaliers attacked the walls, shewed their anger at the disgraceful implication of want of fidelity. Zara surrendered at discretion; and as the season of winter had set in, it was agreed that the army should repose in the city till the spring.* The Vatican had in vain prohibited the Crusaders from drawing the sword against their Christian brethren; and the legate scarcely escaped with his life, when he endeavoured to mitigate the rage of the conquerors against the fallen Zaradenes. The French pretended, however, to lament the hard necessity which diverted them from the holy land; a party of knights and monks went to Rome; his holiness pardoned his suppliant children, and sympathized with them at that want of firmness and union in their friends which had occasioned the second treaty with their allies.† The Venetians were slow in

November 1202. Subjugation of Zara.

Papal politics.

* Villehardouin, 29-34, 39-43. Ramusio, p. 21-28.

† Villehardouin, No. 53, 54. Baluzius, however, tells us (p. 529-531), that Innocent heard with astonishment of the repeated violations of his commands; and, not addressing himself to the Venetians, who seldom regarded his authority, he assured the French that the only means of pardon were for them

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soliciting papal absolution. The superiority of the pope, which other nations acknowledged by subserviency, these haughty republicans merely acquiesced in by respect. The personal vices of the popes were better known in Italy than in France. When Venice withdrew herself from imperial dominion, her spirit of freedom was transfused through her ecclesiastical as well as her civil constitution. Her happy situation had thrown into her hands much of the commerce of the world; wealth had introduced the arts of life; intellectual culture succeeded social embellishments, and the people detected and despised the frauds of the papal chair.

Politics of Constantinople.

The Zaradene expedition, memorable in itself as a political diversion from a religious purpose, is lost, however, in the brilliancy of succeeding events. The eye of classical enthusiasm dwells with melancholy fondness on the city of Constantinople, the sister and rival of Rome, and the depository of all that was learned and eminent in the ancient world. But, viewed by itself, and independent of Roman images, the Empire of the East awakens no great or pleasing associations. The free spirit of the republic,

to restore the fruits of their plunder to the Zaradenes, and not to sail to the holy land in company with the heretical Venetians.

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and the hardy virtues of a conquering nation, were subdued and effeminated by the despotism and luxury which are congenial to Asia. By the co-operating and mutually reflecting causes of private vices and bad government, the decline of the new empire was almost coeval with its foundation. Some of its fairest provinces were swept away by the Saracenian tempest; and, though its capital was saved, yet the preservation was more owing to the mountainous frontier of Asia Minor than to the spirit and valour of its people. The Seljuk Tartars blackened the horizon of the city, but the storm was diverted before the time arrived for its bursting over its menaced prey. Constantinople stood during the first century of the Crusades, because until the days of Saladin no wide-spreading power of the Muselmans was formed; and Saladin's exertions were bent upon Palestine. But treason and faction were active; and the state was fallen so low from its Roman dignity, that the aid of the western barbarians was invoked by a claimant to the throne of the Cæsars. One of the most singular and interesting pages of history is now before us. The fortunes of the Greek empire were put into the hands of a few French barons and a commercial republic. Alexius II.* the successor of the emperor Manuel

* Alexius II. was the son of the emperor Manuel, and of the

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Comnenus, was sacrificed to the lawless ambition of his uncle Andronicus. Under the specious pretext of revenging so unnatural an action, Isaac Angelus, a remote relation of the murdered youth, took up arms, and seized the person of the violator of the rights of men and of sovereigns. The revenge of Isaac was sated by blood; and in reward for his own virtue he placed himself on the throne. He enjoyed it for nearly two years, when by a new revolution, he was hurled from his royal elevation, imprisoned, and deprived of sight. The author of these enormities was his brother Alexius, a brother, too, whom he had redeemed from Turkish slavery. The son of the imprisoned emperor escaped, and sought refuge with Philip duke of Suabia, who had married his sister Irene. As he passed through Lombardy, he met a few straggling pilgrims, who advised him to entreat the aid of the generous Frenchmen at Venice. The young Alexius sent some friends to the marquis of Montferrat and the French barons, who consented to his wishes, on condition that the duke of Suabia would in return succour the cause of Palestine. While the French and Venetians were in quarters at Zara the ambassadors again appeared. They de-

empress Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch.

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clared in public assembly, that Philip had commanded them to represent to the lords and cavaliers of France, that, as they had undertaken a long and perilous pilgrimage for the love of God, and for the maintenance of right and justice, so they ought to be ready to use their swords for the restoration of a dethroned prince. If they would place Alexius on the throne, religious schism should be healed; the eastern church should be brought into subjection to the church of Rome; and Greece should pour forth her population and her treasure for the recovery of the holy land. Some impatient spirits clamoured against this proposed interruption to the great object of the crusade, but the majority determined in favour of the alliance; the characters of avengers of wrong was proud and honourable, and Saracenian Palestine would tremble when it heard of the approach of an army already covered with honours.* This assumption of power trenched upon the prerogatives of the pope; he reprehended the barons for audaciously thinking themselves the general defenders and arbiters of justice; they must not deceive themselves by the speciousness of piety, but it behoved them to go straight to the holy land.† But it was in vain that one of the most

* Villehardouin, 45, 52.

† We are indebted to Baluzius (p. 533) for this notice

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commanding of all the successors of St. Peter issued decrees and bulls; the knights of France and Italy not only received them either with indifference or disdain, but the Venetians, in absolute contempt of his regard for the Zaradenes, destroyed the walls, plundered the churches and houses, and divided the spoil with the French.*

The Croises sail to Constantinople.

The young prince Alexius arrived at Zara in Easter 1203; and the army embarked and sailed to Corfu. But the soldiers began to tremble at the novelty and danger of the enterprize; dread of Papal anger mingled itself with personal fear and prudence; Simon de Montfort,†

respecting the remonstrance of the pope. Villehardouin is silent: he thought proper to disobey his spiritual lord, but it seems that he would not attempt to justify his disobedience. The reason why the pope prohibited the Crusaders from meddling with Grecian politics was this:—the emperor Alexius had already ingratiated himself into the favour of his holiness, and Innocent thought that he could make the feudal and religious submission of the Greek empire to the see of Rome the price of keeping the usurper on the throne.

* Gunther, Blondus, Dandalo, and the epistles of Innocent, amply prove the assertion in the text. Villehardouin says, "Li Venisiens firent abatre la ville, et les tors et les "murs." The good old knight does not mention the co-operation of his countrymen. The translator has incorrectly rendered the passage, "Les Venetiens firent démanteler les "tours et les murailles."

† De Montfort enlisted himself in the service of the king

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and many other men eminent for rank and power deserted,* and one-half of the army would have returned home or gone to the holy land, if the barons had not sworn that under every contingency they would sail for Syria in the middle of the succeeding November. The navy then held due course to Constantinople,† and when they arrived in the Propontis, they anchored off the abbey of St. Stephen's, three leagues to the west of the great city. "It was "at that time," says Villehardouin, with expressive simplicity, "that the magnitude and "splendour of Constantinople awed the cou- "rage of the bravest, and not without reason, "for never since the creation of the world, had "so bold an enterprize been undertaken by so "small a force."‡ The irregular swarms of

20th June, 1203.

of Hungary. Ramusio (p. 36), as a Venetian, is bitter against him for going into the service of the enemy of the republic. He afterwards went to the holy land, and distinguished himself more by the splendour, than the success, of his arms.

* During all the winter there had been many instances of desertion. But the deserters were worse off than the firmer spirits. Most of them perished by the wintry storms, or by the hands of the peasants in Sclavonia.

† Andrew Dandalo tells us that there were fifty gallies, which formed the convoy of two hundred and forty vessels in which the soldiers sailed, a hundred and twenty palandars, and seventy store-ships.

‡ Villehardouin, No. 66.

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Greeks must be opposed by soldiers who were formidable from their united strength; and as discipline can alone be preserved in a well provided camp, the barons, at the suggestion of the prudent and experienced Dandalo, resolved to replenish their magazines of corn and other necessaries from the little islands between Constantinople and Chalcedon, before they encamped under the walls of the metropolis. Accordingly, with all the pride of military and naval power, the adventurers again set sail; their silken banners and streamers were displayed from the masts and poops of the vessels; the emblazoned and ornamented shields were ranged along the sides of the decks, like the battlements of towns, and the valiant knights stood behind their shelter, contemplating those boastful arguments, and picturing in their strong and ardent fancies the feats which they should soon achieve.* But they were amazed on beholding the ramparts of Constantinople crowded with people and soldiers; and when some of the enemy's stones and darts fell into their ships, the boldest hearts were appalled, the resolutions of the preceding day vanished in a moment, security by flight alone was thought of, and they were glad that the wind drove them to Chalcedon. After the men and

* Villehardouin, No. 67.

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horses had been refreshed in the imperial palace, the army moved to Scutari, whither the emperor sent offers of assistance to them in their passage through Asia Minor, but threatened them with destruction if they committed any aggression upon the Greeks. Conon de Bethune, the orator of the knights and barons, replied, that his companions entered the Grecian territories in the name of God, and in order to redress wrongs: if the usurper would descend from his throne, they would entreat pardon and an honourable station for him from the son of his brother, the emperor Isaac. But they sternly advised the ambassador never again to use the language of dictation and reproof.

25th June. The French and Venetian vessels sailed under the walls of Constantinople, exhibiting young Alexius to the people, and endeavouring to incite them to revolt against the reigning emperor. Not an individual Greek, however, answered the call.* The barons made several subsequent attempts to converse with the inhabitants, but arrows were the return which their exhortations received. War then became the only means of effecting the projected revolu-

* Villehardouin, 67-74. Ramusio, 44-47; and the letter of the barons to the Pope, in Baluzius, p. 533.

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tion. The invaders divided their army into six battalions. Baldwin of Flanders had the van guard, because his soldiers were bowmen. His brother Henry commanded the second division; the third, fourth, and fifth, were led by the counts of St. Paul and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency; and the rear guard, of Tuscans, Lombards, and Germans, was headed by the marquis of Montferrat.* The bishops and clergy exhorted the soldiers to confess their sins, and to make their wills, for they did not know how soon it might please God to deliver them to death. The day for the attempt being arrived, the knights, armed cap-à-pie, their shields suspended from their necks, and their helmets laced, went on board the palanders, with their war-horses covered with rich caparisons. The large and heavy vessels received the other soldiers. The palanders were linked to galleys which were to conduct them over the rapid Bosphorus.† The navy of the Greek empire consisted only of twenty‡

Attack and siege of the city.

7th July.

* Villehardouin, 76-80.

† Villehardouin, No. 82. I have almost literally translated Villehardouin's description of the scene. We may add from Du Cange, that the caparisons mentioned above were as much the mark of chivalry as the coat of arms. The Greek emperors used them, and they were the only persons who could have them of a purple colour.

‡ According to Nicetas, the reason why the ships were so

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ships, and they were in the harbour of Constantinople. Without opposition, therefore, the channel was crossed; the knights, with their lances on their wrists, leaped from the vessels as they approached the shore, directly the water reached only to their girdles. The long and cross bowmen, and other foot-soldiers, imitated their boldness. The palanders were brought to anchor, the horses were let out of their doors, the knights mounted, and formed in order of battle. So little resistance was made to the Franks, that if their foresight or sagacity had been equal to their courage, Constantinople would have been taken by a single effort. The capture of the tents and camp equipage of the Greeks, the port of Constantinople, and the tower of Galata, were the first consequences of the terror which the naval and military force of the invaders inspired.* Five days after these successes, the astonishing spectacle was exhibited, of a handful of men commencing the siege of the largest city in the world. So far from being able to surround it, they could scarcely blockade one side; and as the port was theirs, the walls in

few was, that the admiral, a brother-in-law of the empress, had sold the anchors, cables, sails, &c. of most of the navy. Nicetas, in Alex. Comn. iii. 9.

* Villehardouin, 82. Nicetas, p. 269, edit. 1557.

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that quarter were chosen as the subject of attack. Catapults and balistæ were brought against the small part of the city which was besieged, and the beautiful houses and palaces were destroyed by the enormous stones which were thrown into the city. The Venetians, whose skill did not consist in military operations, reimbarked, and prepared their engines of naval war. After many skirmishes, it was resolved that a general attack should be made by land and sea. The camp was left in the charge of three of the French battalions, under the orders of the marquis of Montferrat; while the counts of Blois, Flanders, and St. Paul led the rest. But the walls were so bravely defended by the Pisans, and by the English and Danish auxiliaries,* that the

* Du Cange is at great pains to prove that the English and Danes, mentioned in the text, were people who inhabited the province of Denmark, whence the Angles proceeded. He proves that the emperors of Greece were accustomed to have stipendiary soldiers from various parts of Germany, and that the weapons of the Danes were hatchets. All this is true; but the assertion of Villehardouin remains disproved. Ordericus Vitalis was guilty of an anachronism, in making the natives who left England at the time of the conquest (1066) enter into the service of Alexius, who began to reign in 1181. But we know that the persecutions of the English were carried on through the whole of the reign of William the First; and that a large

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17th July.

French were repulsed. The van of the Venetian navy was formed of small vessels, and the rear was large ships, which carried towers as lofty as the walls of the city. After some hours had been consumed in murderous conflicts by the first line and the Greeks on the ramparts, the invaders were depressed and exhausted. But, during the dreadful pause, the voice of the veteran doge was heard threatening tremendous punishments to those who would not assault the walls. The large ships approached the shore; rage and shame infuriated the Venetians; the Greeks were panic-struck; the men of Dandalo's vessel planted the standard of St. Mark on the battlements of one of the towers, and immediately a long extent of wall was conquered. The emperor, who had not so well stationed his troops as to succour in a moment any particular point of attack, sent a tardy reinforcement to the quarter where the enemy was powerful. But the doge set fire to the houses, and while the imperial troops were engaged in the diversion of occupation which this circumstance occasioned, the triumphant allies fortified themselves in the towers.* At length the splendid but feeble

emigration of the subjugated nation to different countries was the consequence of every fresh act of cruelty of the rapacious Normans.

* Nicetas, 270. Villehardouin, 82, 94.

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Grecians poured from the city, and formed in martial front before the French. The Venetians quitted their holds, and the doge was the first man that joined the Latin lines. For a moment the Latin leaders were overawed by the number of their foes, and forgot that the nerves and soul of war were not in the Greeks. For some while the armies stood gazing on each other; but suspense gave birth to terror in the mind of Alexius, and a retreat into the city was sounded. After this disgraceful resignation of empire, flight from the scene of his shame alone remained to the usurper. On the same evening, therefore, he deserted and fled from the city, with his daughter and treasure.* Abandoned by their emperor, a victorious army on the walls, the people of Constantinople drew old Isaac from his prison, clad him in imperial robes, and seated him on a throne in the palace of Blachernæ. The courtiers, who watched the change of fortune's vane, immediately paid their homage of falsehood and flattery; but, at the solicitation of the French and Venetians, he shared his title and power with his son Alexius. Peace and

Revolution in the government.

* This is Nicetas's account of the flight of Alexius. Baldwin (Baluzius, 534) says, that he left his family behind him. His daughter Irene was certainly with him some time afterwards, and it is as probable that she went with him, as that she followed him.

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friendship existed for a while between the Greeks and Latins.* The Pisans, who had been the friends and soldiers of the deposed Alexius, became reconciled to the Venetians.† The French soon remembered the grand purpose for which they had taken up arms, and sent heralds to the sultan of Egypt, announcing their intention of making him feel the edge of their conquering sword, unless he immediately delivered up the holy land. They implored also the pope's pardon for having violated his commands in attacking Constantinople; but his holiness replied, that he should withhold the word of reconciliation until it should be seen whether the new emperor and his friends were sincere in their professions of wishing to unite the Grecian heretics to the Roman Catholic church.‡ The young Alexius paid the allied army part of the tribute, and kept them in the vicinity of Constantinople by every means of courtesy and promise. He assured the barons, that, next to God, he owed his throne to them: but he entreated his allies to consider that the

* Nicetas, 272. Villehardouin, 97, 101.

† Du Cange's note on No. 115 of Villehardouin.

‡ Afterwards, however, the French received papal absolution. The Venetians also condescended to solicit the same formal approbation of their conduct; and Innocent, glad of the least sign of their repentance, pardoned them. Baluzius, 534.

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Greeks hated him for his friendship with the Latins. Much time was necessary for the conciliation of forfeited allegiance: and great assistance would be required for his firmly grasping the reins of power. Nor would the Christian cause in Palestine be injured, if the French would for a while support the throne. None but enthusiasts could think of crossing the Mediterranean in autumn, and even were the perilous voyage effected, still no measures of hostility could be taken against the Turks in winter. Let impatience be restrained till the more benignant season of spring, and then the armies of Greece should be transported to the holy land, and assist the Europeans in redeeming the sepulchre. These appeals to prudence and interest were disdained by lofty chivalry; but when the Venetians peremptorily declined to tempt the seas at a dangerous period, military spirit sunk into acquiescence.*

The marquis of Montferrat, and many of the French and Flemish knights, accompanied Alexius in a journey through Greece, where he received the tenders of his people's allegiance. While he was absent from Constantinople, the citizens had a new occasion of lamenting the presence of the Latins. Some Flemish soldiers, unrestrained by the prudence or humanity of the leaders of the army, embraced the dark and

* Villehardouin, 101, 103.

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malignant feelings of the Latin residents, and openly attacked the votaries of another religion. The contest in arms would have been in favour of the Latins, but the sword was suspended when the attention was turned to a new calamity. In the tumult and confusion an edifice was set on fire. For eight days the flames spread through three miles of streets, and their last effects were seen in the ships in the port.* The French barons proclaimed their regret at this evil, and their indignation against its authors. But the enraged Greeks treated with ridicule and contempt these expressions of sorrow, and the Latins were obliged to seek shelter from their wrath among the Franks at Galata.† The folly of the emperors widened the breach between their allies and their people. The father and son were disunited, because Alexius presumed to place his own name before that of Isaac, and the old man, though totally unequal to discharge the duties of royalty, yet was indignant at being deprived of its honours. Alexius too offended the Greeks by his free and bacchanalian intercourse with the barbarians. The gay cavaliers of France taught him to ridicule the repulsive pomp, and the cold and laboured ostentation of oriental gran-

* This fire consumed the northern part of the city. The first fire destroyed the western quarters.

† Nicetas, p. 273 and 274.

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deur; in their carousals they shewed the equality which it is the nature of dissoluteness to create, and the successor of the Cæsars was not ashamed to exchange his royal diadem for the cap of a Venetian sailor.*

The people had beheld with apathy the late great change in the imperial throne, for they did not anticipate any revolution in their religious and civil institutions. But their passions were roused to madness, when they saw the religion of Rome suddenly and violently trampling on their own opinions,† and they then reflected with grief and rage that the political convulsion had been effected by the barbarous nations of Europe. In order to discharge his promises to the Latins, relating to money, Alexius had imposed numerous and severe taxes on his people. The odious duties were collected with difficulty, and the officers of the emperor resorted to the violent measures of robbing the churches of their gold and silver.‡ For some time the citizens regarded with mute anguish this contempt of the national altars. But one cause of hatred against the Latins stimulated

* Nicetas, 275. Villehardouin, 105-108.

† Among other acts of cruelty and folly, the barons of France made the patriarch of Constantinople proclaim in the church of St. Sophia that Innocent III. was the legitimate successor of St. Peter.

‡ Nicetas, 273.

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Another revolution.

the other, and the Greeks silently and secretly meditated the destruction of the barbarians. Alexius Murtzuple Ducas was not of the character of those Grecian princes who are described by Nicetas, as having more timidity of the Crusaders than the deer has of a lion. He was eloquent and brave, and as often as he talked of patriotism, and detestation of the Latins, he found the people willing auditors. By the rights of his birth he was admitted to the royal palace, where his counsels were congenial to princes who felt the oppressiveness of their debt of gratitude to those who had placed them on the throne. Yet Alexius and his father paused, and more than common sagacity was necessary for the decision of so perplexed a case. If they should continue to support the Latin army, the hatred of the Greeks would be further increased by its presence, and would unquestionably burst into a flame immediately after the departure of the Crusaders. Were they openly to defy the Latins, they would by that measure conciliate their subjects, but they could not exalt the nerveless Greeks into an equality in arms with the vigorous French. The counsels of Ducas, though they did not prevail with the emperor to declare hostility against the Croises, yet occasioned some delay in the payment of the tribute. The barons observed with

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scorn and rage the vacillations of the court; they called upon Alexius to decide between the alternatives of peace or war, between the performance or breach of the treaty which he and his father had entered into with their deliverers. No language but that of submission had ever before been heard in the palaces of Constantinople. The courtiers were astonished at the audacity of the French in defying the emperor: the feeling of indignation spread through the court, and the ambassadors sought their own safety in flight.* On that day war commenced between the Greeks and Latins, and the marshal of Champagne had the happiness of thanking God that in every engagement the French were victors. In the darkness of the night the emperor directed seventeen vessels, filled with Greek fire, into the Venetian fleet. The walls of the city were crowded with people, who joyfully flocked to behold the destruction of their enemies.. But the Latin soldiers were prompt and active: the Venetians hurried to the shore, threw themselves into galleys and boats, and reached the fire-ships before the

The Croises renew the war.

* Villehardouin, 112. Ramusio, 76. Even in the wars between the Christians and the Muselmans, the former always demanded the objects of the war before they drew their sword. The defiance was generally carried by a person of condition, and often by the clergy.

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dreadful purpose had been accomplished. By means of poles and hooks they seized the Grecian vessels, drew them from their own ships, and directed them to exhaust their fury in the Bosphorus. One vessel, belonging to a Pisan merchant, was the only Latin ship that was destroyed.*

As the remedy of all political evils, the Greek populace thought that a new emperor would be adequate. They assembled in the church of St. Sophia, and would not listen to the counsel of the patricians, that a change of princes would make no alteration in affairs. For three days they searched in vain for an individual who would accept the splendid but dangerous distinction. A young man, Nicholas Canabus, was, however, dazzled by the offer of the purple. He was crowned and proclaimed emperor of Greece. The marquis of Montferrat generously entered the city, and went to the palace of Blachernæ, in order to save Alexius. But the deposed emperor was a prisoner. Ducas ingratiated himself with the guards of the palace, and took the imperial buskins.† The people received their

* Villehardouin, 113.

† This circumstance was agreeable to the fashion of the Greek empire; for when an emperor was proclaimed he was not immediately crowned or clothed with an imperial robe, but

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favourite with joy; and Canabus was deposed and soon forgotten. Murtzuple became emperor; he secured Alexius by immuring him in a dungeon; the old Isaac fell a victim to terror, and the usurper was left in quiet possession of the throne. Horror and astonishment seized the minds of the French and Venetians at the news of this inhumanity and treason. They declared that the Greeks were monsters in the sight of God and men, and that to punish them would be the height of virtue.* CHAP. IV.

The enemies of Constantinople passed the remainder of the winter in preparing for war, and in gaining and enjoying the plunder of Grecian cities. Philippopoli was a principal source of booty; and on one occasion, as Henry of Hainault was returning from it, he routed the troops of Murtzuple; and though

red buskins were given to him as the first and principal mark of dignity; thus commencing a ceremony at the foot, which most nations begin at the head. When an emperor was deposed or degraded, his buskins were taken from him. Oriental and Roman kings and princes have always wished to be distinguished from the people by the coverings of the legs and feet. Buskins of scarlet or purple were worn by the Roman generals who triumphed. Ornaments, as well as colour, distinguished the buskins of the great. Du Cange on Villehardouin, 116.

* Villehardouin, 116-118. Baldwin's official letter to the Pope, in Baluzius, 534. Ramusio, 79.

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the emperor escaped, yet the joy of the people at that circumstance was more than balanced by the loss of the standard of the holy virgin.* The emperor was prompt and vigorous in measures of defence; and the Latins confessed that his military engines were larger and more powerful than any which they had ever beheld. Yet he was not so perfectly confident in his military preparations as to disdain the advantages of conciliation. He solicited and obtained a conference with the doge; but Dandalo declared to him that he would never treat with an usurper, and that his only measure of procuring favour would be to place his master on the throne, and implore his pardon.† The doge was impenetrable to the arts of Murtzuple; and the arrival of some Latin cavalry terminated the discussion. The cruel policy of Murtzuple suggested the idea of evading for the future a similar demand by the murder of Alexius: and he was put to

* Nicetas, 280. Villehardouin, 119.

† See Baldwin's letter, p. 534. Nicetas, p. 280, makes the doge demand fifty thousand pounds of gold; and does not state in specific terms any other conditions. Baldwin's means of information were more direct than those of Nicetas. Baldwin adds, that Murtzuple killed Alexius that night in prison. It appears that this conference was held in the winter; and that the partition treaty, consequent on the death of Alexius, was signed in March 1204.

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death that same night in prison. His tragical fate was soon known in the Christian camp; and a solemn treaty was then signed by the French and Venetians, that in the event of the capture of Constantinople, the booty should be equally divided between the two people, after the republic had been satisfied their pecuniary demands. Six persons should be appointed by each of the allied powers for the purpose of electing an emperor. The fortunate object of their choice should have the fourth part of the city, with the palaces of Blachernæ and Bucoleon; and the rest of the metropolis of Greece was to be equally partitioned among the Venetians and the French. All claims of the Greek empire upon the homage of the republic of Venice were to be renounced: and the doge was to be the only individual who was not to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the emperor. In order to balance as nearly as possible the power and consequence of the French and Venetians, the patriarch was to be chosen from the nation to which the emperor did not belong.*

The invaders, after they had taken these precautions against lawlessness, prepared to consummate their boldness. In the first siege the operations by sea had given possession of the

* Baluzius, 536. Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. xii. 326.

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CHAP. IV.

April 8.

city to the Venetians, and the French were emulous of their glory. All the soldiers embarked; and the vessels were impelled against the walls near the palace of the Blachernæ, on the side of the port. But their attacks, though fierce and dreadful, were unavoidably desultory for a perfect line of advance was not formed; the Latins were repulsed with loss, and the Greeks congratulated themselves on the safety of their capital. Though Constantinople, on the side of the Propontis, seemed more accessible than through other fortifications, yet the Venetians declined the war in that quarter, because the current was strong, and some sudden gust of wind might perhaps drive the ships from their anchorage. On the fourth day the attack was renewed at the accustomed parts; and the invaders guarded against a repetition of defeat, by lashing the vessels two by two; and it was thought that no station of the Greeks could resist the double assault. For some hours the Greeks and Latins waged a distant war of arrows and darts; but about noon the wind drove the vessels against the walls; the French and Venetians leaped upon the ramparts, and the soldiers on board the Paradise and Pilgrim, commanded by the bishops of Troyes and Soissons, were the first to whom the Grecian towers yielded. The gates were soon in the possession

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of the Latins; the knights galloped through the streets in such a noble array, that many of their terrified foes fled from the city; and Murtzuple shut himself up in his palace. In the struggle between grief and rage, the Greeks made a momentary rally; but a German count dispersed the re-formed squadrons by setting fire to the city,* and by that cruel means diverted their attention. The victors reposed that night midst the subjugated towers and palaces, and in the morning it was found that Murtzuple, his wife, and many of the despairing people, had fled from the city.†

Complete victory. April 12, 1204.

The conquest of the seat of the Grecian empire was achieved, and the triumphant barbarians had the choice of mercy or revenge. But the ferocity to which they were indebted for success, was not readily extinguished; and they abandoned themselves to the usual vices of conquerors. In their work of blood they found willing auxiliaries in the Latin population, who had contributed to the luxury of the inhabitants of Constantinople without conciliating their respect and kindness. Two thousand Greeks became victims of the rage of conquest, and the

Sack of Constantinople.

* Gunther, p. 15. This was the third fire. Villehardouin (No. 130) says, it lasted a night and a day, and burnt more houses than were contained in any three towns of France.

† Villehardouin, 120-130.

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malignity of long concealed hatred. The scenes of female violation need not be described.* The palaces of the rich, and the meanest houses of the poor, were explored for plunder by the cruel diligence of the victors. Their sacrilegious hands tore away the ornaments of churches; the coffins of the emperors were broken open, and the mouldered imperial vestments were stripped from the corpse of Justinian. Their destruction of the rich and beautiful altar of the church of St. Sophia would pass as an ordinary circumstance in the history of sieges; but the annals of profanation have seldom presented us with an instance of a vulgar courtezan, the priestess of the furies, seating herself in the chair of the patriarch, and singing a bacchanalian song to the corresponding actions of the surrounding soldiers and mob. The marquis of Montferrat, and the French and Venetian ecclesiastics, prayed and threatened their companions; but the voice of reason and religion could not abate the storm of the passions. Nothing was so difficult as to soften the ferocity of these barbarians, and to gain their affections. They were so irritable that a single word would kindle the flame: it was folly to

* Pope Innocent describes the crimes of the Crusaders against women and property, in no very gentle terms, p. 538.

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attempt either to lead them, or to make them hear reason.*

Yet occasionally a ray of virtue pierced the dark scenes of horror, and shone with bright and benignant influence. A Venetian merchant was bound to Nicetas, the Grecian historian, by the pleasing obligation and honourable tie of gratitude. The Italian longed to display the ardour and sincerity of his feelings; and as soon as the rapine commenced, he placed himself as a sentinel opposite the door of his benefactor. He was armed like a Crusader; and as he could converse in most of the languages of Europe, his speech corresponded with his appearance. For awhile the men whom he wished to deceive passed him, on his assurance that he was guarding the mansion in obedience to the orders of the chiefs. But when the soldiers were maddened by indulgence in savageness, and their avidity for plunder increased as the objects of gratification were exhausted, the merchant saw that his protection would soon be but of small avail. He therefore told his friend, that unless he quickly left Constantinople, he would lose his liberty or life, and his family would become subject to the license of victory. Forced then to abandon

* Nicetas, p. 283.

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his home and property, Nicetas, accompanied by his wife and children, entrusted himself to the conduct of the Italian. At every step they were joined by some of the Greeks, who were flying through the streets, and who, in the extremity of despair, sought for safety even in the companionship of their unarmed countrymen. The scenes of sensuality which every where presented themselves, compelled husbands and fathers to surround their female friends, and to command them to disfigure their faces by dirt. The wild glances of a French soldier fell however on a girl, whose charms shone through every attempted concealment or disguise. The licentious wretch pressed his way through the trembling crowd, and snatched the object of his brutal passion from the arms of her aged and helpless father. Nicetas invoked the name of Heaven, and called on his companions to save the virgin from dishonour, and her parent from premature and wretched death. The ruffian smiled in mockery on their misery and helplessness. But so venerable was the appearance of the old man, and so affecting were the shrieks and tears of his child, that the French soldiers, whom the circumstance had drawn to the spot, indignantly tore their comrade away, and virtue had its triumph. The noble Venetian

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conducted his friends beyond the walls, and Nicetas gained repose and safety on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

Division of the plunder.

The heralds of the army proclaimed the orders of the barons, that all the plunder should be carried into three churches, preparatory to its distribution. But injustice and selfishness went hand in hand; and many of the soldiers, both of high and low condition, secreted the dear-bought spoils. But all those who were convicted of self-appropriation, expiated their crime by death; and the place of execution was crowded.* The French absolved themselves of all pecuniary claims on the part of the Venetians; and in the division of the remainder of the *money* that was collected, twenty marks were given to a knight, ten to a horse serjeant, and five to a foot soldier. The rest of the booty was divided; and the only notion we can obtain of its value, was the offer made to the French by the mercantile Venetians, of giving in exchange for the whole of it, four hundred marks to a knight, two hundred

* Villehardouin, 132-134. Et de l'embler cels qui en fu revoiz sachiez que il en fu fais granz justice. Et assez en i ot de penduz. Li Cuens de Sain Pol en pendi un suen Chevalier l'escu al col, qui en avoit retenu. Et mult i ot de cels qui en retendrent des petez et des grands: Mês ne fu mie seu. Baluzius, 535. Ramusio, 90-95.

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to a priest and a horseman, and one hundred marks to an ordinary soldier.*

Vengeance of the Croises on the fine arts.

The misfortunes of a city may be repaired by future prosperity; the disgrace of defeat may be effaced by subsequent glory; and the sympathy of after ages for the demolition of edifices, and the waste of property, is softened by the reflection, that the tomb has long since closed upon the sufferers. But there are calamities which extend their influence to all ages and countries; and a liberal selfishness will kindle indignation when barbarism has not spared the noble monuments which genius has reared. By the different sources of purchase and plunder, Constantine had adorned his city with the sculp-

* Cont. of Archb. of Tyre in Martenne, v. 667. "Since "the creation of the world," says Villehardouin, "there never "was so much booty found in any conquered city." In the same strain Baldwin remarks, in a letter to the pope, the gold and silver, the silk, the gems, and precious stones, and all those things which are accounted riches, were found in more abundance than all the Latin world could furnish. Villehardouin says, that there fell to the share of the French five hundred thousand marks, and ten thousand horses. It is difficult to understand that so much coin fell into the hands of the conquerors; yet the specification of horses forbids the idea that the sum expresses value and not specie. However, in another place he has said that fifty thousand marks were paid to the Venetians; and that the surplus, namely, one hundred thousand marks, was paid among the soldiers. Villehardouin, No. 134, 135.

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ture and statuary of the pagan world.* The most beautiful Grecian temples were converted into churches, and though in the course of time penal laws were enforced against heathen worship, yet the pride of ancestry guarded the monuments of ancient fame, till in the eighth century the world became divided into the opposite factions of the admirers and the haters of image worship. The statues and pictures of Christian saints and martyrs should alone have been the objects of the fury of the Iconoclasts, but the blind zeal of party and superstition hurled into the gulph of destruction the marble representations of heathen virtue and greatness, and for one hundred and twenty years the fine arts were the victims of theological controversy. The silent and mouldering effects of time were less injurious than the anger, hatred, ignorance and fanaticism of man. In days of sedition, public edifices were set on fire; but the wantonness and malice of the mob were more destructive than the flames. Notwithstanding all these causes of ruin, Constantinople had enough statues yet remaining to gratify the revenge of the Latins,

* Procopius, in his account of the siege of Rome by Belisarius, mentions the important fact, that all the fine monuments of art which had been left there by Constantine were entire, and valued: so that it is false and calumnious to charge the Goths and Vandals with their destruction.

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whose envy was inflamed by the fancied superior learning and taste of the Greeks. The barbarians, devoid of all love of the beautiful and fair, destroyed a figure of Juno, which had formerly been at Samos, and which was so tremendously colossal, that eight oxen could scarcely draw its head from the forum of Constantine to the palace of Bucoleon, after the French had made the mutilation. Two celebrated figures of a man and an ass, formed by order of Augustus, on occasion of a fortunate omen before the battle of Actium; a beautiful statue of Venus receiving the apple of discord; an exquisite Helen,* in all the freshness and modesty of youth, could not command the admiration of the iron-hearted French and Venetians. An obelisk, of varied and tasteful workmanship, surmounted by a female figure, which moved by the least agitation of the air, and was, for that reason, called the servant of the winds. An equestrian statue, the Bellerophon, adorned the square of Mount Taurus. The Hippodrome had a colossal statue of Hercules, perhaps the work of Lysippus, and the ornament successively of Tarentum and Rome. The statue was

* "What," observes Nicetas, "shall I say of the beauteous "Helen; of her who brought together all Greece against Troy? "Did she mitigate these immitigable, these iron-hearted men? "No; nothing like it could even she effect, who had before "enslaved so many spectators with her beauty."

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of a hero in repose. His lion's skin (that looked formidable even in brass) was thrown over him. He was sitting, without a quiver, a bow, or a club. His right leg was bent at the knee; his head gently reclined on his left hand, and his countenance was full of dejection. And yet this Hercules the barbarians did not spare! Such of the venerable monuments of antiquity as were in marble were broken or destroyed, and such as were in bronze were melted into coin or various utensils.* The guilt of this savage destruction lies chiefly on the French: for the four bronze horses in the square of St. Mark in Venice, shew that at least in one instance the more refined Venetians were satisfied with the milder crime of robbery.

* I have mentioned only a *few* of the most memorable pieces of statuary in Constantinople. The aggregate merit of the collection it is difficult to ascertain. Nicetas (our only original authority) can seldom be depended on for strict accuracy: his hatred of the invaders is, at least, equal to his love of truth, and his general style is bombastical and inflated. His account of the destruction of the statues is not contained in the common editions of his works. Fraud and shame, as Harris says, made the editors leave it out. It is printed, however, in the eighth vol. of Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. and the first vol. of Banduri, Imperium Orientale. In several dissertations in the eleventh and twelfth volumes of the memoirs of the Gottingen Society, Heyne has given a catalogue of the Constantinopolitan collection, and has examined the history of their ruin with philosophy and taste.

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The boldness of a few thousand soldiers* had been rewarded by the subjugation of the largest city in the world, the injuries of the Crusaders were avenged, and nothing now remained to complete the degradation of Greece, than to invest a barbarian with the Roman purple. The eyes of every one were fixed on the marquis of Montferrat and the count of Flanders, for they were the most distinguished generals among the Latins.† The barons dreaded lest the rejected candidate should, in spleen and discontent, imitate the treachery of the count of Tholouse on the formation of the kingdom in Jerusalem,‡

* The number of the united French and Venetians was only twenty thousand. There were four hundred thousand men capable of bearing arms in Constantinople. Et bien en dûrent nostre Seignor loer, que il n'avoient mie plus de vingt mil homes armez entre uns et altrez, et par l'aie de Diex si avoient pris de quatre cens mil homes ou plus; et en la plu fort ville qui fust en tot le munde, qui grant ville fust et la mielz fermée. Villehardouin, No. 133. The amount of the force of the Venetians when they left Venice, is thus stated by Sanudo, in his Vite de Duchi di Venezia (Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. xxii. p. 528): "E questo stuolo d'armata fu di "Galere, 60. Navi, 240. Uscieri, 20, e—fino al numero di "300. Vele e poi gente d'arme (come scrive il Bionde e "Marcantonio Sabellico) cavalli 450 e fanti 8,000 in esse."

† Dandalo was not thought of, for he was already the sovereign of a state. The constant residence of the emperor in Constantinople was necessary, and pride forbad the Venetians from wishing to change their seat of government.

‡ The treachery of the count of Tholouse was accurately

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and therefore it was determined that the emperor should bestow upon the other in feudal tenure the island of Candia, and all the Grecian states on the other side of the canal. Twelve electors were then appointed; six on the part of the Venetians, and six for the French, and their consciences were bound by a solemn obligation to allow merit alone to the crowned. The choice fell upon the count of Flanders.* The bishop of Soissons, one of the electors, announced to the anxious multitude the name of their future lord; and the barons and knights, agreeably to the Byzantine custom, elevated the emperor on a buckler, and bore him into the church of St. Sophia. When the pomp of magnificence and dignity was prepared, the coronation took place. The papal legate threw the imperial purple over Baldwin; the

Election of a Latin emperor.

May.

remembered. The barons said, that Raymond, after the election of Godfrey, was so highly indignant, that he persuaded many of the knights to return to Europe. The new and feeble state was consequently in the greatest peril. Villehardouin, No. 136.

* The debates of the electors were not minuted and published. In the absence of the detail, Du Cange rationally conjectures, that the opinion was started and prevailed, that if the count of Flanders were chosen, he might expect the friendship of his former neighbours, the kings of France; but that the marquis of Montferrat could not support the empire by an equal assistance from the various divided sovereignties of Italy.

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soldiers joined with the clergy in crying aloud, "he is worthy of reigning;" and the splendour of conquest was mocked by the Grecian ceremony of presenting to the new sovereign a tuft of lighted wool and a small vase filled with bones and dust, as emblems of the perishableness of grandeur, and the brevity of life.

General remarks on the empire of the Latins in Greece.

The establishment of the Latins in Constantinople was the important though unlooked-for issue of the fifth crusade: but their dominion lasted only fifty-seven years. The history of that period forms a part of the annals of the Lower Empire, and not of the holy wars. But we may remark, generally, that in a very few years fortune ceased to smile on the conquerors. Their arrogant and encroaching temper awakened the jealousy of the king of Bulgaria. The fierce mountaineers, who had so often insulted the majesty of the Roman empire, now redeemed themselves from the sin of rebellion, by ceaseless war on the usurpers of their former master's throne. The change of the Greek ritual into the service of the Latin church, was a subject of perpetual murmur and discontent. The feudal code of the kingdom of Jerusalem was violently imposed on the people, in utter contempt of their manners and opinions. The Greeks, too, were not admitted into any places of confidence in the government, and the nobi-

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lity gradually retired from Constantinople, and associated themselves with the princes of the deposed royal family. Several of those princes formed states out of the ruins of the empire, and Manuel Paleologus,* the Emperor of Nice, descendant of Lascaris, son-in-law of the usurper Alexius, had the glory of recovering the throne of the Cæsars, and of finally expelling the usurpers from Constantinople. On the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus the Latins never had much power. CHAP. IV. July 1261.

The jealousy which Genoa entertained of her great rival, Venice, was one of the most active causes of the fall of the Latin empire. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, commercial concessions had often purchased for Constantinople the military and naval aid of the sovereign of the Adriatic; and at the time of the fifth Crusade the empire appeared to acknowledge the equality of the republic. The imperial throne gained the friendship of other Italian princes, and the Pisans as well as the Venetians, had almost unlimited commerce with the Grecian states. Each of these allies had its church and its exchange in Constantinople; its consuls decided the causes of their respective citizens, and both

* He was the stock of the Paleologi, who reigned at Constantinople till the capture of that city by the Turks, in the year 1453.

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nations enjoyed the rare and blessed privilege of exemption from payment of public taxes. In the middle of the twelfth century, Genoa had obtained commercial immunities; but it does not appear that they were so extensive as those which had been acceded to the Venetians and Pisans. When the Crusaders captured Constantinople, the commerce of the Black Sea was open to the Venetians, a commerce which, before that event, had only been slightly enjoyed by the Italians.* The Genoese, alarmed at the maritime progress of the Venetians, took up arms against them; fortune befriended the inferior power, and in the year twelve hundred and fifteen a treaty was concluded, whereby the Genoese were confirmed in the commercial privileges which they had enjoyed under the Greek emperor. But the political situation of the Venetians continued a great source of superiority, and their rivals incited and assisted† the Greeks

* Marin, Storia civile e politica del commerzio de' Veneziani, vol. iv. p. 145, &c. cited in Heeren, Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, 2 partie, 1 sec.

† So much superior to the religious prejudices of the age were the commercial republics of Italy, that the Venetians took Constantinople in defiance of the orders of the Pope, and the Genoese dethroned the emperor, although he was supported by his holiness.

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to throw off the Latin yoke, and recapture Byzantium.* CHAP. IV.

* Although the Greeks recovered Constantinople, yet most of the Archipelago and Proper Greece, from Thessaly southwards, continued for years to belong to the Latins.

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CHAP. V.

THE SIXTH CRUSADE.

State of the East during the Fifth Crusade—History of Antioch—Effects in Palestine of the fifth Crusade — Death of the sovereigns of Jerusalem — Mary, the new queen—Her marriage with John de Brienne—Another Crusade instigated by Innocent III.—Letters of Innocent to Muselman princes—Character of De Courcon, preacher of the sixth Crusade—Fourth Council of Lateran—Extent of the ardour for a holy war—Hungary and Lower Germany send the chief Crusaders—Criminal excesses of the Croises—Their useless pilgrimages—Defection of the king of Hungary—Fresh Crusaders—Change of Crusading operations—Siege and capture of Damietta—Arrival in Egypt of English Crusaders—Events subsequent to the capture of Damietta—The Croises take the road for Cairo—The legate refuses favourable terms of peace—Consequences of his violence—Damietta surrendered to the Muselmans—The Emperor Frederick II.—His marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem—His disputes with the Popes—He sails to Acre—His friendship with the Moslems—The recovery of the Sepulchre, and other advantageous results of his Crusade.

CHAP. V. WHILE the barons of France were preparing for the fifth Crusade, the remnants of the

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State of the East during the fifth Crusade.

Latins of the east enjoyed repose on the coast of Palestine. They were generally overlooked by the Muselmans in the contest for supremacy between the Atabeks and the family of Saladin. But their greatest security arose more from the misfortunes than from the occupations of their enemies. In 1199 the Nile did not rise to its usual height,* and the subsequent famine of Egypt was felt through all the Muselman countries. The miseries of the Egyptians were unexampled. The streets of every town were strewed with dead bodies, and when the vilest descriptions of food had been exhausted, men arrested the progress of the demon of famine by eating the flesh of men. There are degrees even in cannibalism, but the Egyptians must have carried it to the extremity, for women were executed in Cairo for sustaining their own lives by devouring their children.† Pestilence is the faithful attendant on famine; and a year of scarcity was followed by a year of disease. The most populous provinces became

1200—1201.

* Abulfeda, iv. 183. Whenever there was a want of water in Egypt, the Ethiopians were charged with having turned the course of the Nile. The caliph always sent an embassy to the lords of the higher provinces, for permission for the water to descend; and, when the Nile was at its usual height, the people sent a complimentary return of thanks to the Ethiopians.

† Abdallatiphus, Hist. Egypt, lib. ii. ch. ii.

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festival halls for birds of prey. The shores of the Nile were covered with dead bodies. So numerous were the funerals in the cities, that it became at length impossible to perform that last sad act of humanity with decency, and carcasses were thrown into the fields, or collected into heaps. Of those who died of famine and disease, no calculation was made; and the Arabic historians dismiss the dreadful subject with the remark, that God alone could reckon the number.

The Christians, in consequence of their convenient situation for commerce, did not suffer the extremities which depopulated Egypt, but they fully shared in a calamity of another description. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine were almost ruined by an earthquake Acre, Tripoli, Tyre, and Damascus felt the storm in various degrees; superstition engendered the idea that it was the awful convulsion of nature which was to precede the last judgment, and the idea was strengthened by the fact that Jerusalem, the sacred city, had not suffered like the rest.* The waste of edifices was easily restored, for common Asiatic dwellings are simple and of moderate cost. But the fortifications of Acre had been exten-

* Abulfeda, iv. 195.

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sive and substantial, and much time and expense were used in the re-edification. The treasures of the king and of the military orders purchased the materials, and the Muselman prisoners assisted in the labour. The stern ferocity of soldiers has no respect for genius or literature, and the Persian poet Sadi, at that time a captive, worked like the meanest hewer of stones.*

History of Antioch. A.D. 1193-1205.

But before we continue the history of the Christians in their few cities in Palestine, we must bring down the annals of Antioch from the conclusion of the third Crusade to the close of the fifth. We have seen that the victories of the duke of Suabia restored independence to the principality, and from subsequent events it appears that Bohemond the Third was once more upon his throne. Between two neighbouring states motives to war are frequent; the eastern frontier of Palestine was the scene of the altercation of Christians, but Armenia was generally compelled to own the superiority of the Latins at Antioch. In the

* I met with the notice of this curious circumstance respecting Sadi in Michaud's Histoire des Croisades, vol. 3. p. 357. M. Langlès found the anecdote in the Persian author Daulet Chah, and inserted a notice of it in the Magazin Encyclopédique, 1796, tome 2, p. 477. A merchant of Aleppo redeemed Sadi from Christian captivity.

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CHAP. V. proudest days of the Persian and Byzantine empires, Armenia had been both the occasion and the theatre of imperial wars, and she fluctuated in her allegiance till the reign of Theodosius the younger, when a territorial partition terminated the animosity of her rival lords. The Armenian provinces of the empires experienced the political revolutions of their respective states; but in the conflicts between the Seljukians and the Grecians, some dawnings of independence appeared among the Christian lords of Mount Taurus. In the eleventh century several Armenians, eminent for birth and military accomplishments, attained different steps of power, and in the following age both the Latins and Greeks acknowledged the *kingdom* of the Less Armenia. Kaghic Basile (a name unmusical to European ears) was a man who outstripped his countrymen in the race of ambition, and his dominions comprised much of Cilicia and much of Cappadocia. Christianity had made some impression on Armenia in very early ages of the church, but from the time of Constantine it had been the rule of the faith and the morals of all the people: Armenia was however branded with the name of schismatic, for in the world of opinions respecting the incarnation, she adopted the heresy of Eutyches, that the divine nature

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alone existed in Jesus Christ. The presence of the European population in Asia had been witnessed with joy by the Armenians, as the completion of an old and national expectation, that the people of Rome would one day come into the east, and redeem the holy land. After the formation of the French and Italian states in Syria and Palestine, there was some intercourse of friendship between the Armenians and the new settlers. But the union was not cordial or lasting; religious and national distinctions kept the people asunder, and the princes were intent upon aggrandizement and ambition.* Under the pretence of concerting general measures of policy, Bohemond drew Rupin, the lord of Armenia, to Antioch, and in violation of public right put him in prison, and invaded his dominions. Livon, the brother of Rupin, prepared every method of fraud and force to revenge the wrong. A crafty politician rather than a valiant warrior, Bohemond aimed at the annexation of Armenia to Antioch, by imprisoning its sovereign. He proposed a conference between himself and Livon, and desired that each prince should

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1194.

* Haithon, Hist. Orient. c. 9. 14. M. Edessa, vol. 9. p. 276, of Notices des MSS. du Roi. La Lignage d'Outremer, art. Rois d'Armenie, the Chronological Tables of De Guignes, vol. 1. p. 432. Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. vol. 1. p. 337.

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come unattended. Livon anticipated the treachery of his fellow sovereign, and concealed two hundred horsemen in the forest near the place of conference. After some moments had been passed in reciprocal courtesies and formal discussion, a troop of armed men at the signal of Bohemond appeared and surrounded Livon. The Armenian prince gave the note of alarm, and his soldiers started from their retreat. Their courage and numbers were irresistible, and they not only rescued their master, but took Bohemond himself prisoner. This event gave the preponderance of power to Armenia. The principality of Antioch was declared to be a fief of its successful rival, and before the two princes were set at liberty, Raymond, the eldest son of Bohemond, was married to Alice, a daughter of Rupin, and the issue of the marriage, the contending parties agreed, should inherit the states of Armenia and Antioch. About the year 1200 Raymond died, and left a son, named Rupin. Bohemond designed him for his successor, and his pretensions were recognized by the states of Antioch and Armenia. The regency of Tripoli was bestowed upon Bohemond, the younger son of Bohemond III. with a promise of the absolute possession of his vicarious state, if he should support young

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Rupin in his hereditary rights to Antioch. Bohemond the regent thought that on the death of his brother Raymond he should have been looked upon as the heir to the principality of Antioch. Discontent took possession of him, and quickly ripened into hostility; he revolted against his father, and by the aid of some Templars and Hospitallers drove the lawful owner from the banks of the Orontes. The old man, however, recovered his authority, for the regent was abandoned by his allies. Bohemond the prince died in the year of the pestilence in Egypt. The annals of Antioch are obscured with treachery and blood; and the cloud is particularly thick over the period of which we are writing. From some faint glimmerings of light it appears that Livon of Armenia recovered, but could not retain Antioch, and that the authority of Bohemond IVth., the usurper, was generally paramount. In 1205, he acknowledged the feudal superiority of the new emperor of Constantinople,* and in the three subse-

* The largest part of the Flemish force which was destined for the general purposes of the fifth crusade did not join Baldwin. It sailed from Flanders to Marseilles, and then pursued its course to the holy land, while the rest of the crusaders were conducting the first siege of Constantinople. The fate of most of the impatient Flemings was death: but some obscurity surrounds the circumstances of their history. Others allied them-

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quent years he exercised various rights of sovereignty.*

Effects in Palestine of the fifth Crusade.

We may now return to the general history of Palestine. The successful heroism of the French adventurers before Constantinople alarmed the Muselmans, and Saphadin gladly concluded a treaty for six years peace with the Christians. Sinners only and not heroes, repentant pilgrims and not hostile bands, were therefore the new visitors of the shores of Syria. The murderers of the bishop of Wurtzburgh expiated their crime in the holy land, and at the conclusion of various penances, a sentence of three years abode in that country was pronounced by the pope on a wretch, who avowed that during the famine in Egypt he had slain and eaten his own wife and daughter.† But Palestine soon again

selves with Bohemond IV. The wife of Baldwin was at Antioch, and directly the news arrived of the elevation of her husband to the imperial throne, Bohemond saluted her by the title of empress, and did homage to her for his principality. Villehardouin, 52, 120. Sanutus, 203, 204. Cont. of Arch. of Tyre in Martenne, v. 656, &c.

* Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, v. 648. Sanutus, 201.

† In the scale of canonical punishments, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Rome was called the greater pilgrimage, as a penitentiary expedition to other holy places was the less pilgrimage. By the laws of King Henry I. of England, a priest who revealed the secrets of the Confessional was subject to the penalty of perpetual wandering. Du Cange, Glossary, art. Peregrinatio.

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became the theatre of ambition and of glory. Almeric and his wife died, and Mary, the daughter of Isabella and Conrad of Tyre, was the new ideal queen of Jerusalem, while Hugh de Lusignan, son of Almeric, by his first wife, was proclaimed king of Cyprus. Hugh had married the princess Alice, half sister of the young queen, and daughter of Henry count of Champagne, and Isabella. There was not at that time any nobleman of rule or influence in Palestine capable of governing the state; and the ecclesiastical and civil potentates resolved, that Philip Augustus of France should provide a husband for Mary. The bishop of Acre and the lord of Cesarea were the deputies; and the French king received them with a kindness which corresponded to his sense of the distinction that was paid him. Philip Augustus fixed his eyes on John de Brienne, son of the count of Brienne in Champagne. The favourite was wise in council, and experienced in war, and well known among the knights of Europe. Though the sovereignty over Jerusalem was titular, yet the command of the Christian army in Palestine, and the possession of a young queen so desirable as the ambassadors painted the daughter of Almeric, were circumstances so flattering to the imagination of an aspiring cavalier, that John de Brienne received the gift with joy; and the deputies

1206. Death of the sovereigns of Jerusalem. The new queen.

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CHAP. V. were dismissed with the promise that in two years he would join them in Palestine with a powerful band.* The bishop of Acre and the lord of Cesarea were naturally disposed to exaggerate the success of their mission; and on their return to the holy land, their accounts of the impression which they had made on Europe elated the Christians to insolence, and depressed the Saracens into gloom. The truce of six years was on the point of expiring, and Saphadin offered to renew it, and to resign to the regency any ten castles or towns they might select, to be retained by them in perpetuity if the Saracens broke their faith. The knights of St. John, and those of the Teutonic order, argued strenuously for the acceptance of this offer; but the spirit of party was always the enemy of Palestine, and the Templars and clergy declared for war.†

September 1210. Her marriage.

At the appointed time John de Brienne arrived at Acre: the next day he received the hand of Mary, and shortly afterwards was crowned, and received the oaths of allegiance of the barons. Only three hundred knights had participated in his hopes of restoring the fortunes of the holy land, for the enthusiasm and love of glory of the western chivalry were

* Sanutus, 205. † Ibid. 206.

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diverted into new channels. England* and Germany were torn by internal disturbances; the court of France was watching the turn of events, and Pope Innocent employed the penitents in putting an end to the heresy of the Albigenses. The destroyers of heretics and of infidels were alike praiseworthy; and a crusade into the south of France was less dangerous than a voyage to Syria. From these various causes the Muselmans in Asia were forgotten or disregarded.† As peace had been refused, Saphadin marched an army to the country round Tripoli. The king displayed his valour in many a fierce

* Innocent's letter to John was short and cold. See it in Rymer, i. 104, new edit.

† "Pope Innocent III. having lately learned the trick of "employing the army of pilgrims in bye-services, began now "to set up a trade thereof. He levied a great number of cru- "saders, whom he sent against the Albigenses in France. "These were reputed heretics, whom his holiness intended to "root out with all cruelty; that good shepherd knowing no "other way to bring home a wandering sheep than by worry- "ing him to death. He freely and fully promised the under- "takers the self-same pardons and indulgences as he did to "those who went to conquer the holy land; and very con- "scionably requested their aid only for forty days, hoping to "chop up these Albigenses at a bit. The place being nearer, "the service shorter, the work less, the wages the same with "the voyage into Syria, many entered themselves in this em- "ployment, and neglected the other."—Fuller, History of the Holy War, book iii. ch. 18.

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encounter; and though he never conquered his foes, yet he broke the impression of the enemy, and saved his states from utter annihilation. He foresaw the approaching ruin of the holy cause; every day the Saracens made some acquisition; and the Latin barons, by every opportunity, and for every pretext, returned to Europe. He wrote, therefore, to the pope that the kingdom of Jerusalem consisted only of two or three towns, and that the civil wars between the sons of Saladin alone suspended its fate.*

Another crusade instigated by Innocent III.

Every project of ambition which the daring genius of Gregory VII. had formed was embraced by the ardent spirit of Innocent III. In raising a fabric of ecclesiastical policy on the ruins of Gospel liberty, the importance of guiding the military arm of Europe was not lost sight of.† The commands of the Vatican were hurled upon every part of Europe, calling men to exterminate infidelity. In a circular letter to the sovereigns and clergy, the Pope declared that the time was at last arrived, when the most happy results might be expected from a confederation of the Christian powers. Such

* Sanutus, 206. Cont. William in Martenne, p. 680.

† He had also "the office of bearing the bag, and what put "into it, as contributed to this action from pious people, and "expended but some few drops of the showers he received." Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 2.

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men as fought faithfully for God, would obtain a crown of glory; but those who, on the present urgent occasion, refused to serve him, would be punished everlastingly. "Jesus Christ has "kindly pointed out to you the way for your "redeeming yourselves from the vices and "frivolities of the world. But he will con- "demn you of gross ingratitude and infidelity, "if you neglect to march to his succour in a "time when he is in danger of being driven "from a kingdom which he acquired by his "blood. The Muhammedan heresy, the beast "foretold by the spirit, will not live for ever; "'its age is 666.' On the very spot, on "Mount Thabor itself, where the Redeemer "shewed his future glory to his disciples, the "Saracens have raised a fortress for the con- "fusion of the Christian name. They hope, "by means of this fortress, to possess them- "selves of Acre, and then to subjugate all the "holy land, at present almost destitute of "sacred soldiers." His holiness then remitted the punishment of sins, not only for those who went, but for such as contributed largely to the expences of the enterprise. The protection of St. Peter was promised to the families and fortunes of the pilgrims. They who had bound themselves to pay usury were released from their oaths; and secular power should compel

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the Jews to remit their claims. Three years was the time for which the faithful were to enlist under the banners of Christ: and the wealthy clergy and nobility were to support the poor but faithful pilgrims. The maritime powers were to contribute their ships. The war against the Saracens was to be the permanent consideration of Europe. The laws should be put in force which forbad the sale of warlike materials to the enemy.* The indulgences were revoked which had been granted to those who quitted their homes in order to exterminate heresy in Provence, and infidelity in Spain.†

Letters of Innocent to the Muselman princes.

In a letter to the sultan of Aleppo, written in 1212, the Pope had complimented the Saracen upon his respect for Christianity, and implored him to regard with favour, and protect to the utmost of his power, the patriarch of Antioch and his church.‡ But when some probability

* It seems to have been the general rule throughout the crusades, that Christians should not sell military weapons to infidels. I observe that Charlemagne prohibited his subjects from selling arms to foreigners of any nation or religion. Capitularia, lib. iii. cap. 75, vol. ii. p. 186.

† This letter was encyclical through all Christian Europe. See Labbe, Concilia, vol. ii. p. 119-123.

‡ The complaisance of the pope brings to recollection the politeness of Hildebrand. In 1076 the king of Morocco granted

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appeared that the successor of Urban could, like his great predecessor, arm Europe against Asia, Innocent wrote to Saphadin as the sultan of Cairo and Damascus, that the holy land was in possession of the Muselmans, not on account of their virtue, but because of the sins of the

liberty to some Christians, and permitted them to live freely in his territories. Hildebrand wrote him a handsome letter of thanks. He says he is sure the king had been moved by the spirit of God; and that both he and the king worshipped, believed, and trusted in the same God, though the modes of their adoration and faith were different. See this curious epistle in Labbe, vol. xi. ep. Greg. lib. iii. ep. 21. Equally liberal with Hildebrand was the emperor Manuel Comnenus. He wished to conciliate the followers of the Arabian prophet: and for that reason he was anxious to expunge from the Greek catechisms the anathema against the God of the Muselmans, whom the Christians chose to think was a different being from the object of their own adoration. The sticklers for othodoxy were alarmed; and the din of polemics resounded through the empire. A *moderate* party, however, reconciled the combatants; and it was agreed that the *imprecation* of the catechism should be transferred from the God of Muhammed to Muhammed himself, his doctrine, and his sect. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, cent. 12. part. 2. chap. 3. sec. 17. "We must take care," says Zebedeus, the Roman catholic zealot, "that we fall not unawares into the heresy of Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Greece, who affirmed that Mahomet's God was the true God; which opinion was not only rejected and condemned by the synod, but imputed to the emperor as extreme madness; being reproached to him also by the bishop of Thessalonica, in those bitter and strange words as are not to be named." Bacon's Advertisement touching an Holy War.

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Christians. The anger of Heaven was however tempered with mercy; and the time was at hand when that mercy would be shewn in an especial manner. His holiness then in peaceful language solicited Saphadin to resign the holy land to the Christians, and not retain, out of false glory, a country which was the source of more inconvenience than profit to the Moslems.

Character of De Courcon, preacher of the sixth crusade.

The Crusade was preached in every cathedral, and in every church of Western Christendom. The pope was earnest, and his legates were active. Among those who most loudly and successfully pleaded the cause of religion, was Robert de Courcon, a man inferior in talents and consideration to St. Bernard, but whose fanaticism was as fervent as that of Peter and Fulk. By parentage and birth he was an Englishman; but he had been educated in the university of Paris, and in that famous seat of learning had lived as a friend with a fellow student, who afterwards sat in the papal chair, under the title of Pope Innocent the Third. The associate of his holiness was promoted to various dignities in the church; his talents for business were employed by Innocent in clerical embassies, and his abilities as a public orator were matured under the care of Fulk de Nuilly. He was the papal legate in France, and after

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having appeased the foreign and internal distractions of that kingdom, he quitted Paris (in the year twelve hundred and fifteen), descended by the way of Burgundy to the southern provinces, left no quarter of the south unvisited; and then, after having traversed with speed and success the western provinces, the saint-errant returned to the capital. He signalised his zeal for the Christians of the east in the church of every town through which he passed. Twenty years before he had preached the same theme to the same people, as the humble assistant of Fulk. Clad in the Roman purple, and armed with the authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ, the cardinal gave every possible dignity to the office of missionary. But his prudence kept not pace with his zeal, for, like Peter the Hermit, he admitted every one to take the cross. Women, children, the old, the blind, the lame, the lepers, all were enrolled in the sacred militia. The high-minded cavaliers felt therefore a great repugnance at becoming his disciples, because such a confusion would naturally injure the success of an expedition which required skilful co-operation. The multitude of the Crusaders was innumerable, and the voluntary offerings of money which were put into the charitable boxes in the churches, were immense. Philip Augustus contributed the fortieth part of his

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revenues; and it is singular, that this money was to be employed for purposes of the holy war, agreeably to the directions of the kings and barons of France and England. But the alms of the people of France were not applied exclusively to sacred purposes. Robert de Courcon was openly convicted of peculation, and his papal friend was obliged to remit his own dignity, and intercede with the French prelates, in order to save the legate from punishment.*

Fourth council of Lateran.

The pope, treading in the steps of his predecessors, convoked a general council for the purpose of chastising vice, condemning heresy, and of inducing the princes and people to undertake the sacred expedition. In the month of November, 1215, the religious and political authorities assembled in the church of the Lateran, and the greatness of their number, and their exalted rank, testify the zealous preaching of the Pope's legates. There were present the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, the ambassador of the patriarch of Antioch, seventy-four metropolitan primates

* Notice des Manuscrits, tom. vi. p. 603, 613. The talents and general moral conduct of De Courcon in time overcame this blot in his conduct. In 1218, he requested from Honorius the office of legate of the Crusade. Pelagius, bishop of Albano, had been already appointed; the Pope, however, added Robert to the commission.

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and three hundred and forty bishops. The abbots and friars numbered eight hundred, but the representatives of the higher clergy could not be calculated. The emperor of Constantinople, the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Arragon, and the sovereigns of many other countries, were represented in the assembly. After some opinions differing from those of the established church had been pronounced odious and damnatory, war against the Saracens was declared to be the most sacred duty of the European world. The usual privileges, such as were mentioned in the pope's letter, were accorded to the pilgrims. In order, say the decrees of the council, that his holiness should not be considered a mere preacher of the duties of mankind, he gave to the purposes of the war thirty thousand pounds, besides the maritime expences of the Roman pilgrims. The patriarch of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, and Templars, were to be the distributers of the papal bounty; and through the same agency, and for the same purposes, all the clergy (except those who were Croises) were for three years to contribute the twentieth part of their ecclesiastical revenues. Referring to the decrees of old councils, tournaments during the three years of the Crusade were forbidden,

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lest the representation of war should draw men's attention from war itself. Civil dissensions were to be suspended, and peace was to reign in the Christian world during all the time of the holy contest.* In the sermons which he preached to the council, Innocent declared his intention of visiting the holy land. The pulpits of Europe announced the grateful intelligence, and the people agreed with their pastors, that success would be certain, if they were led by the sovereign pontiff.

Extent of the ardour for a new war.

The holy war was again the subject of poetry, as well as of preaching, and the castles of the nobility resounded with the songs of the Troubadours.† "Great men are fired by the

* Concilia, vol. ii. 224, 233. The crusade (the sixth) consequent on the council of the Lateran (A. D. 1215) is divided into three parts. The expedition of Andrew, king of Hungary, —the war in Egypt,—and the campaign in the holy land of the emperor Frederic II. For the first two divisions, my authorities are Abulfeda, Bernardus, Sanutus, Matthew Paris, and the two Continuations of the archbishop of Tyre. The chronicle of Alberic, a contemporary (edited by Leibnitz), contains some curious particulars respecting the Germans. Another contemporary was Godfrey, monk of St. Pantaleon, whose Annals are contained in the German historians, collected by Freher Marquard. But the richest materials are the third book of the Oriental History of James de Vitri, who was an eye-witness of the siege of Damietta.

† The Troubadours, through spread over most countries, were

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noble ambition of meriting the glory of this world, as well as the glory of heaven. You who dedicate yourselves to a pious pilgrimage will obtain both. Great God! The Turks have conquered and profaned the holy sepulchre. Let us feel to the bottom of our hearts this mortal disgrace. Let us impress upon our bodies the sign of the cross, and pass the seas; we have a firm and courageous guide, the sovereign Pontiff Innocent.* If there be any thing like loyalty, any thing like bravery in our hearts, we should wish to restore Christ to his inheritance: but we prefer, we love what is evil, and despise what is good. And why? There is no safety in our own country, and death in the holy land is the gate of life. Should we hesitate to suffer for him, who did not disdain to suffer for us? Why do not the emperors and the kings terminate their discords and their wars? Oh, that they would make peace, that they would unite for the

chiefly patronized by the counts of Provence, with whom the king of France was at war. The grateful minstrels wished to divert the course of hostility from the south of France to the holy land.

* Whether sincerity or artifice prompted the pope, time would not admit of the disclosure. He died before the sailing of any part of the expedition.

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deliverance of the holy sepulchre, the divine lamp, the true cross, the kingdom of Christ, which have been for so many ages under the dominion of the Turks! At these words, who does not groan with shame and grief? Valiant marquis of Montferrat, your ancestors formerly covered themselves with glory in Syria. Spread then the sacred banners, pass the seas, and by your deeds of arms merit the admiration of men, and the approbation of heaven."*

The necessity of extirpating heresy, and quelling rebellion in the south of France, was the pretence of the French king for not embracing the Crusade. The emperor Frederic II. feigned to be the faithful son of the church, but his zeal cooled when Otho IV. his rival, died, and instead of travelling to Palestine, he remained in Europe, in order to establish his authority in Apulia and Sicily, and to advance the favourite project of himself and family, of making Italy the seat of the empire of the west.† A people who had been the scourge

* Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 73, &c. Paris, 1817.

† The pope and emperor were struggling for supremacy, and the cunning pontiff thought he could get rid of his rival by commanding him to take the cross: and such was the state of the times, that Frederick would not have been considered a

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of the first Crusaders, took the lead on this new occasion. In the time of Peter the Hermit, the Hungarians were such young religionists, that they had not embraced half the superstitious usages which had been grafted on Christianity. But in the century that succeeded, they often breathed the hot air of fanaticism; and when the sixth holy war was preached, they aspired to the glory of recovering the sacred sepulchre. Their king, Andrew, incited by the example of his mother, Margaret, the wish of his father, and certain political considerations, made a vow to march to Jerusalem. The dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and indeed all the ecclesiastical and secular potentates of Lower Germany, joined their forces to those of the monarch. The united army marched to Spalatro. The ships of Venice, and other ports of the Adriatic, transported them to Cyprus: and after having enjoyed for a while the pleasures of an island consecrated to Venus, and the more sober and religious welcomes of the ambassadors from the king of Jerusalem and the military orders, the holy warriors sailed for and arrived at

Hungary and Lower Germany are the chief crusaders.

A.D. 1216, &c.

Christian if he had refused. Voltaire is right in saying, "L'empereur fit le vœu par politique; et par politique il dif-"féra le voyage." Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, chap. 52.

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Acre, in company with fresh crowds of Crusaders from Marseilles, Genoa, and Brundisium. The Muselman powers were astonished at, and unprovided for this sudden and large reinforcement of the Latins. The sons of Saphadin were the lords of Syria, while Saphadin himself, retired from the constant toils of royalty, was contented with the respect of the army and people in times of difficulty and danger. The Saracens pressed to the country about Naplausa, but not in sufficient numbers to meet the new Croises, who ravaged the country, and slew thousands of their foes.*

Criminal excesses of the Croises.

But they did not confine their cruelties to the infidels. The soil of Palestine, in the year in which the present Crusaders landed, had been less productive than in most seasons: the soldiers had carried thither no provisions, and when not engaged in distant excursions into the enemy's territories, they took the shorter course of robbing the private and religious houses of the Latins and Syrians. The Bavarians were marked as the principal actors in these disgraceful scenes. Pious exercises, however, re-established order.

Their useless pilgrimages.

The ecclesiastical chief of the Latin Christians led the army in religious procession across the

* Abulfeda, iv. 261.

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river of Kishon, to the valley of Jezrael. They bathed in the Jordan, made their pilgrimage to the lake of Genasareth, observed with devout awe the scenes of various miracles performed by Christ, and returned to Acre.* But they soon repaired their wasted strength, and trod with holy reverence the road to the scene of the transfiguration. The ascent to Mount Thabor, however, was difficult: and the summit was defended by a strongly garrisoned tower. Conducted by a Saracenian youth, and stimulated by their own enthusiasm, the armed pilgrims overcame every obstacle, and approached the walls of the fortress. Impetuous valour clamoured for an immediate and furious assault: but the experienced chiefs saw the remoteness of success, and contended that the troops should retire to Acre for the defence of their camp and stores, which would certainly be attacked by those swarms of Muselmans that every day were pouring into Palestine. This counsel was adopted.† In both these

* James de Vit., 1229, 30. Bernardus, 821.

† James de Vit., 1130. Herold, 91. Sanutus, 207. Bernardus, 822. Cont. William, 631. Abulfeda, iv. 263. The monkish writers generally ascribe to treachery those actions which mere prudence dictates. They make a bold assertion of treason, and never bring the slightest proof that there was any intercourse between the Saracens and Christians. The king of

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expeditions the Christians made many prisoners, and such of them as were children were baptised by the bishop of Acre, and delivered into the charge of those Latin women who had devoted themselves to a religious life. Attached as much to pilgrimages as to war, the Crusaders went in holy order to Tyre and Sidon; but the inclemency of the season drove them into disorder, and the Saracens made dreadful havoc on their divided parties.* The Christians separated for the remainder of the winter. The kings of Cyprus and Hungary repaired to Tripoli; and if the people were grieved at the death of the former of these princes, their feelings were quickly changed into indignation against the latter. Neither the entreaties nor the threats of the clergy could persuade the unstable Andrew to remain in Palestine. Mere restlessness overcame every suggestion of duty. Taking with him most of his soldiers and stores, he traversed Armenia and the Greek empire, spent much time in collecting relics, and at last returned to his king-

Defection of the king of Hungary

Jerusalem is thus strikingly mentioned by James de Vitry:— "Rex quantum meruit ascendendo, tantum demeruit descen- "dendo." But the king had displayed much personal courage, and he would not have declined the assault except for high and important reasons.

* James de Vit., 1130.

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dom, which had been so deeply exhausted by this expensive expedition, that it did not for years recover its pristine strength. The weak and infirm pilgrims, and such as courted pleasure, went to Acre. The king of Jerusalem, the duke of Austria, and the master of the Hospitallers, took up a strong position on the plains of Cesarea. The Templars, the Teutonick knights, and Walter d'Avesnes, occupied Mount Carmel, and their station was defended by a tower which the Templars had formerly erected, for the defence and protection of the Jerusalem pilgrims.* In the spring of the following year they were joined by new and zealous Crusaders from the north of Germany. Cologne had been the rendezvous, and nearly three hundred vessels sailed from the Rhine. Many of the ships were wrecked by the violence of the autumnal winds, and the remainder anchored off the Portuguese shore. By the aid of the Germans, the queen of Portugal took Alcaçra from the Moors. Conscience and valour would be equally satisfied by the slaughter of Saracens, in whatever country they might be; and William I. count of Holland, entreated permission of the pope to remain a year in Portugal. But Honorius ardently pursued the

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Fresh crusaders. 1218.

* James de Vit., 1130, 1.

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plans of which Innocent had laid the foundation. Most of the soldiers, too, wished to pass to the holy land; and as crosses were seen in the air pointing to the south, they sailed at the earliest appearance of spring.*

Change of crusading operations.

In the few flourishing days of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, when projects of conquest, and not of mere defence, engaged the passions of warriors, the various cities of Syria, on account of the relative situation of countries, were generally more ambitiously regarded than those of Egypt. But subsequently to the fifth, and before the formation of the sixth Crusade, so small a portion of the holy land belonged to the Christians, that politics almost wore the same face as they did at the time of Peter's preaching. Various schemes were formed for the destruction of the Muselman power, and the court of the Vatican revived the politics of Almeric king of Jerusalem. Ambition and cupidity sighed for the possession of the potent and rich country of Egypt. Palestine would be abandoned, were the heart of the Muselman power assailed; and flying from the remembrance of the ensanguined plains of Syria, deeds of renown might be achieved in a land which was associated with few appalling ideas of Christian

* James de Vit. 1132. Godef. Mon. ii. p. 385.

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discomfiture. As soon, therefore, as the Cologne reinforcement arrived, the chiefs assembled in council, and it was agreed that siege should be laid to Damietta, which was looked upon as the key of Egypt.* It was situated on the Eastern bank of the Nile, about a mile from the sea;† it was of an oblong shape, and defended on every side, except on those parts which were near the Nile, by a triple wall. A double wall, and a tower in the midst of the river, connected with the city by a chain, formed the defence from naval attacks.

Siege of Damietta. A.D. May 1218 Nov. 1219.

A voyage of a few days brought the Christian army within sight of Damietta. The soldiers landed, and encamped on the western side of the Nile. The duke of Austria, the knights of St. John, and the troops of Germany and of the Teutonick order, endeavoured to take the tower, for the purpose of facilitating an attack on the city's walls next the Nile. But their ladders broke, many of the soldiers were precipitated into the water, and the noise of the

* Cont. William, p. 682. Godef. Mon. ii. p. 388.

† The modern Damietta is some distance to the south of the city which the Christians besieged, and which was destroyed by the Muselmans, A.D. 1250. Abulfeda, iv. 519. The Egyptians dreaded the re-appearance of the Franks, and choked the entrance of the harbour, to prevent the anchorage of large vessels.

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CHAP. V. Egyptian brazen drums and trumpets announced to the camp the fate of the escaladers. Ingenuity assisted valour, and a priest of Cologne, aided by the Teutonick knights, built an immense wooden castle, on the basis of two vessels lashed to each other. The chiefs of the army declared, that all which skill or expence could furnish, had been used, and that the world had never witnessed so noble a work. By processions round the cross, by fasting and prayer, heaven was propitiated; in the spirit of fanaticism, or of excellent policy, a saint's day, that of St. Bartholomew, was fixed for the new assault; and in order to banish envy and discontent, and to excite emulation, the gallant band destined for the attack was selected from every nation in the army. At the appointed time the duke of Austria, and three hundred soldiers, took their stations in the gallies, and on the drawbridge at the top of the tower, and the vessels moved from their anchoring ground towards the castle, amidst the acclamations of their comrades in the camp, and the benedictory vociferations of the priests. The cavaliers made their assault with all the courageous fury which their peculiar circumstances could inspire. The battle lasted for twenty-four hours, and the city of Damietta and the Christian camp resounded at different times with the

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shouts of victory and the lamentations of defeat. In spite of every precaution, the Muselmans set fire to the ladders of the Franks, and the ensign of the duke of Austria fell beneath the triumphant banner of the Saracens. The acclamations of the people of Damietta enraged the duke and his troops, and the clamorous appeals to heaven of the patriarch and his clergy, kept their courage unallayed. The catapults and balistæ shook the walls of the castle to their foundations, and the garrison were happy in surrendering to the discretion of the besiegers.* CHAP. V.

Before the joy of the Christians had subsided, news arrived of the death of Saphadin. The power of his house had lately been strengthened by the death of the sultan of Mosul, the last great supporter of the name of the Atabeks. But Saphadin did not live to complete the addition of all Mosul to his empire of Damascus and Egypt. The brother of Saladin has been variously represented, according to the different feelings with which he was regarded. But the Crusaders had such a limited knowledge of oriental affairs, that their invectives cannot be

* Bernardus, 825, 888. Godef, 388, and James de Vit. 1133, 4, who says, that the tears of the people put out the flame which the Greek fire had made: extinxerunt ignem fidelium lachrymæ.

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CHAP. V. opposed to the reputation which he acquired for virtue and ability. By his own historians he is styled a child of fortune, not that they meant to exclude mental talents from his character. His success was apparent, but the means through which it was obtained were unknown, and the ignorant world attributed to chance, events that in truth were the result of either refined and artful policy, or secret treachery and murder. He was an usurper, yet as was the case when all the competitors for the throne were sanguinary and remorseless, the higher the abilities, the more signal the success. The brother of Saladin was splendid in his apparel; he preserved all the magnificence and dignity of an oriental court; and left a full and ample treasury.* His second son Coradinus, the prince of Syria and Palestine, did not proclaim the death of his father till he had secured himself in the possession of the royal coffers. Discord and rebellion were universal throughout Egypt, when the news arrived of the death of Saphadin; and his son Camel, lord of that country, was compelled to fly into Arabia for protection from his mutinous people.†

After the surrender of the castle of Damietta,

* De Guignes, livre 13. Abulfeda, iv. 265—271.

† Abulfeda, 271.

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the acquisition of the city appeared so easy an achievement, that the besieging army sunk into inertness and dissoluteness. The Germans fancied that the success to which they had so much contributed was equivalent to the performance of their vow, and many of them returned to Europe. But the siege of Damietta was not delayed for want of men. Italy sent forth her choicest soldiers, headed by Pelagius and Robert de Courcon, as legates of the pope. The counts of Nevers and la Marche, the archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops of Meux, Autun, and Paris, headed the valiant youth of France. The English troops were led by the earls of Chester and Arundel, William Longespee, earl of Salisbury, and the baron Harcourt, men celebrated for their heroism and nobility.* For some

Arrival of Croises from England.

* Annals of Waverley in Gale, vol. 2. p. 185. M. Paris, 255. The earl of Salisbury mentioned in the text was the son of king Henry the Second by fair Rosamond. His Christian name was William, and his wearing a longer sword than was usual gave him his surname.* His half brother, king Richard the First, gave him in marriage Ela, eldest daughter and coheiress of William de Eureux, earl of Salisbury and Rosemer; and also raised him to the title of earl. Ela was grand-daughter of the Patric earl of Salisbury, murdered by Guy de Lusignan. See before, p. 33, note. Longespee was a firm friend of

* Thus his epitaph, as reported by Matthew Paris, p. 277, says,

Flos Comitum Willielmus obiit, stirps regia, longus
Ensis vaginam cœpit habere brevem.

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CHAP. V.

months after the arrival of this reinforcement distress and discord raged amidst the Europeans. The Nile in its overflow injured their camp, and pestilence and famine thinned their ranks. The cardinal Pelagius distracted their attention from foreign enterprise by the claims which he set up to the distinction of commander-in-chief. Robert de Courcon fell a victim to disease, and the death of this haughty and ambitious prelate materially detracted from the power and influence of his equally imperious coadjutor. In this time of inaction among the Crusaders, Coradinus came into Egypt for the purpose of quelling a rebellion raised by a soldier of fortune, and reinstated his brother Camel. But before those objects could be achieved, the Christians had time to recover from their misery and folly, and prepare for the renewal of the
1219. attack upon Damietta. They attempted the passage of the river, but many of their vessels were destroyed by the Greek fire from the walls. The shore presented a triple line of soldiers, and the bravest of the Christian troops dreaded the attack. But on the night previous to the morning which was fixed for the decision of the cause, a rebellion broke out among the Musel-

king John, and afterwards of Louis the French monarch: but when John died he forsook Louis, and did homage to Henry the Third. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 176.

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man soldiers, their posts were deserted, and when daylight appeared the Christians were struck with the general confusion which prevailed among the enemy. The chieftains immediately armed their people, the passage of the Nile was soon effected, and they occupied the enemy's camp, singing the hymn, "We praise "thee, O God," in full assurance that Heaven had rewarded their virtues and their prayers. The Templars pressed forwards to the city's walls, but the Muselmans in the mean time had rallied round Camel, rebellion was extinguished in a moment, and no further advantage was gained by the Crusaders. The Saracens made frequent sallies. They attacked a bridge which the Christians had thrown across the Nile; but the duke of Austria, with the Templars and Teutonick knights, repulsed them. The clergy acted as surgeons as well as priests, and though the day was Palm Sunday, the only procession, says an eye-witness, which the Crusaders made, was one of lances, and swords, and shields. After this victory the duke of Austria, and many knights, returned to Europe; but their loss was repaired by the bishop of Mantua and new pilgrims from Italy, and plentiful supplies of arms and provisions. From May to August there was a long series of noble endeavours on both sides. The Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians

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CHAP. V. made several attacks on the walls from the ships; but it was not ordained that those nations should be the safety of Israel.* The Saracens fought many a well contested battle with the Christians in their camp. All the Crusaders contended with the bravery of men whose souls were strung by religion and valour, and if any soldiers distinguished themselves above the rest, to the Templars may be given the praise of pre-eminent heroism. The issue of most of those conflicts was adverse to the Moslems. Despair seized the people of Damietta. Hunger and disease were within their walls, and in addition to their misfortunes the Nile did not reach its usual height.

The sultan of Syria had heard with dismay of this perilous state of circumstances. The loss of Damietta appeared inevitable, and he dreaded the speedy appearance of the Christians in Jerusalem. But he resolved that they should never make that place a station of defence. He destroyed the walls, and much of the town; but the tower of David, and the temple of the sepulchre, were saved, on account of veneration to the prophets, a religious exception which made some liberal Christians of the time declare, that the name of heretics was more applicable to the Sa-

* Bernardus, p. 834.

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racens than that of infidels. The sultan of Syria had anticipated the fall of Damietta, the sultan of Egypt despaired of its defence, and no wisdom could calculate the magnitude of the effects which its capture might produce. Prudence suggested the policy of negociation, and the Latins were therefore offered the piece of the true cross, the city of Jerusalem, and all the prisoners in Syria and Egypt. The Muselmans were to rebuild the walls of the sacred city. Of the whole kingdom of Palestine they only proposed to retain the castles of Karac and Montreal, as necessary for the safe passage of the Meccan pilgrims and merchants. The evacuation of Egypt was the equivalent expected from the Christians for these important concessions. All the legitimate consequences of the Crusades were at the command of the soldiers of the cross. The king, the French, the earl of Chester, and the Teutonick knights hailed with joy the prospect of the termination of the war. But the legate, the bishops, the Italians, the Templars, and Hospitallers were deaf to counsels of moderation. They contended that no faith could be reposed upon the promises of infidels, unless peace was made at the point of a victorious sword. The siege had already lasted seventeen months, and it would be disgraceful to fly from the fair prospect of success. Unhap- CHAP. V.

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CHAP. V. pily for the general interests of the Christian cause, the mild suggestions of policy were disregarded amidst the clamours of thoughtless valour. Hostilities were recommenced. The besiegers interrupted all communication between the Egyptian army and the garrison of Damietta. Resistance was fruitless, but the Muselmans were too brave and too proud to surrender. The legate and the king assaulted the walls, and soon entered the city, with the same ruthless feelings as had maddened the early Crusaders, when they first leaped on the battlements of Jerusalem. But revenge sought its victims in vain. Damietta was one vast charnel-house. Of a population, which at the beginning of the siege consisted of more than seventy thousand souls, three thousand only were the relics. The conquerors marched through a pestilential vapour. The streets, the mosques, and the houses were strewed with dead bodies. The rich and the poor, the master and the servant, lay, with no reference to distinction. The children at the breast had drawn the last remnants of life from their mothers, and were crying for sustenance. The clergy consigned them to the Christian women, but in most cases the cries of the infants had been the last struggles of nature, and they suffered the fate of their parents. From scenes of death the Chris

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tians turned to plunder. Damietta was as rich a city as any in Islamism, and the terrible anathemas of the legate could not prevent self-appropriation of spoil. Dominion over the place was given to the king of Jerusalem. The splendid mosque was converted into a Christian church, and dedicated to the Virgin and all the Apostles. But the soldiers were soon compelled to return to the camp, for pestilence was in the city. Life and liberty were granted to the surviving Muselmans, on their performing the horrid and melancholy task of cleansing the city from the remains of their relations and friends.*

Events subsequent to the capture of Damietta.

So great was the terror which the loss of Damietta spread among the Muselmans, that the fortress of Tannis surrendered. By this acquisition, the way into Palestine was open. But instead of urging their advantages, the army passed the winter in luxury and in discord, and in the spring more than half of the soldiers returned to Europe. The power of the legate was supreme, and the king of Jerusalem retired in disgust to Acre. The duke of Bavaria, and many knights from Germany and Italy, arrived

* Alberic Chron. 503, 505. Godef. Mon. 388-400. Abulfeda, iv. 271, &c. Bernardus, vii. 828-838. Cont. William, 684-688. James de Vitry, lib. 3. Herold, cap. 6, lib. 3.

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CHAP. V. as soon as the weather would permit the passage; but they disdained to submit to the command of a bishop, and Pelagius was compelled to solicit with humility the return of the king. John de Brienne repaired to Damietta, and a council was held on the subject of hostile operations. The legate argued that Egypt was the most powerful of all the Muselman states; that if that country should be conquered, Syria and Palestine would yield without effort. His compeer admitted that their successes at Damietta had laid the foundation for the conquest of Cairo. But he contended, that if all Egypt could be taken, the Christians were unable to retain it. The great object of the Crusaders was the recovery of the holy land. That object ought to be purchased at as little an expense of blood as possible. After every victory the soldiers were eager to return to Europe, and the garrisoning of Egypt would require so many troops, that none would be left to march into Syria. But the king's policy did not accord with the ambition of the prelate; Pelagius charged with cowardice those who refused to march to Cairo, and the threats of excommunication served instead of arguments to change or to overrule the opinions of the friends of the king. The conquest of Egypt was resolved upon, and the army marched by the

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eastern side of the Fatimite branch of the Nile, till their progress was arrested by the canal of Ashmoun. On the southern side of that canal the Muselman forces were posted. Every sultan of Syria had sent assistance to their brother in the faith, and the allied troops under Camel could cope with the Latins in the field. The sultan, however, would not trust his kingdom to the caprice of fortune. He offered peace to the Christians on nearly the same terms as those which had been proposed previously to the last assault on Damietta. The legate refused with indignation these noble offers: but instead of crossing the canal, and giving the enemy battle, he remained for more than a month inactive on his post, expecting the unconditional surrender of the sultan. During this time the Nile had rapidly increased in height. The Muselmans opened the sluices, inundated their enemy's camp, and Pelagius saw his army gradually wasting, and all communication with Damietta cut off. The Christians could neither advance nor retreat; and, to use the humble simile of a Templar, they were inclosed like a fish in a net. When the overflowings of the Nile had swept away all the tents and baggage, Pelagius sent an embassy to the Muselman camp, imploring a safe return to Acre, and offering to

The legate and the Croises take the road for Cairo.

His refusal of favourable terms of peace.

Consequences of his violence.

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CHAP. V. surrrender Damietta and Tannis to the Muselmans. The sultan of Damascus, and many other members of the Saracenic council, thought that this occasion should be taken for destroying the Christian troops, in revenge of the repeated cruelties and treacheries of European nations. But the sultan of Cairo contended, that the Moslem world was in such a distracted state, in consequence of the invasion of the Tartars, that every thing should be done to prevent the west from thinking of new crusades. Damietta, too, was still occupied by some thousands of Christians, who could sustain a siege as long as that which the Muselmans had endured. It behoved the latter, therefore, to profit by the turn of fortune; for as the Muselmans had been under arms for three years, the continuance of their patience and discipline could not be depended upon. Camel's counsels of moderation were adopted, and hostages were interchanged for the performance of the treaty. But the inhabitants of Damietta, when the news of the peace reached them, refused to deliver up the city: nor was it till they learnt that further delay would cause also the surrender of Acre itself, that they submitted to their fate. The distress of the Christian army was mitigated by the humanity of Camel. The

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king of Jerusalem was one of the hostages, and in an interview with the sultan, he wept for the miserable state of his army. "Why do "you weep?" inquired the sultan; "I have "reason to weep," replied the king; "for "the people whom God has given into my "charge, are perishing in the midst of the "waters, or dying of hunger." The sultan shed tears of pity, and opened the Egyptian granaries for their relief. When, after eight months' possession by the Latins, Damietta was delivered into the power of the Muselmans, the hostages were exchanged, and the Christian army retreated to the sea-coast, through the road by which they had advanced in full confidence of victory. The barons of Syria, and the military orders, retired to Acre; and the volunteers returned to Europe.* CHAP. V.

Damietta surrendered to the Muselmans.

1221.

The high spirit of the people of the west was undismayed. A strong feeling of contempt for the infidels made them attribute their ill success to any cause rather than Turkish valour and conduct. The pride of the legate received

The emperor Frederic II.

* Abulfeda, iv. 303, 308. Cont. of the Archbishop of Tyre, 688, 694. Herold, lib. iii. c. vii. ix. M. Paris, 260, 265. In M. Paris there are some letters from Templars in the east, to their friends in the west, full of curious details. Bernardus, 838, 844.

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CHAP. V.

its full share of censure. But the Pope cast all the odium on the emperor Frederic, a man who had thrice sworn to redeem the holy land, and had compromised with his conscience by merely sending soldiers and provisions. Frederick despised the thunders of the Vatican; but although he was not awed by force, he could not resist papal artifice. Honorius soothed his irritated mind, and received him again as a faithful son of the church. Herman de Saltza, master of the Teutonick order, returned to Europe, and gave the emperor the hope of being the redeemer of Palestine. Violante, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, could easily be obtained in marriage, and her father would cede his rights, which he was wearied of endeavouring to convert into an actual and firm dominion. The emperor and the Pope approved of this project. John de Brienne, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, were summoned to Europe; and in a council held at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Roma, the marriage was concluded upon. Frederic accepted from the king of Jerusalem a renunciation of all his claims to the holy land, as the dowry of Violante; and he pledged his honour to the Pope, the cardinals, and the masters of the Hospitallers and Teutonick knights, that he would within two years travel with a powerful army into the

His marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem.

1222.

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east, and re-establish the throne of Godfrey of Bouillon. For the succeeding five years, rebellions in Italy and the insurrections of the Saracens in Sicily, detained the emperor from his purpose. Violante arrived in Europe, and soon resigned her kingdom and her charms to the ambitious and amatory Frederic. The holy war was preached throughout the west, and Honorius threatened with eternal punishment those who drew their sword for any object except the great concern of Christendom. But Louis VIII. and the French despised this threat. After having waged a war with England, they turned their arms into the south of France, endeavoured with pious zeal to extirpate heresy, and Louis contented himself with paying the testamentary donations which Philip Augustus had made to the patriarch, and the Templars and Hospitallers.* Italy was torn by the contests of petty republics; but in England the preachers of the Crusade were so earnest and so eloquent in their exhortations, that sixty thousand men at arms, besides old men and women, assumed the cross.† Palestine and Egypt heard with shame and sorrow of the various causes of delay. The Christian residents in Cairo and

CHAP. V.

Sept. 1225.

* Sanutus, lib. iii. cap. x. † M. Paris, 285.

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CHAP. V. Alexandria were treated with extraordinary rigour after the fall of Damietta. They were not even allowed to repair their churches, or to carry the image of the cross in a funeral procession. The Muselmans compelled them to perform the meanest offices, and no considerations of pity could save them from prison, if the amount of the toleration tax had not been strictly paid. The patriarch of Alexandria assured the Pope, that the world did not so ardently expect the coming of Christ, as the holy land looked for the arrival of the emperor. Honorius did not live to witness the event of his exertions; but his successor, Gregory the Ninth, was equally furious in the cause. He pressed the emperor to hasten his voyage, and since by reason of some concessions which Honorius had induced the allies of the papacy in Italy to make, the emperor was free of action, an imperial edict was published, declaring that the army would quit Brundisium in August. A diet of the empire was held at Aix la Chapelle; the archbishops of Mentz, Triers, Cologne, Saltsburg, Magdeburg, and Bremen, and their suffragans; and the dukes of Austria, Bavaria, Carinthia, Brabant and Lorraine, were the most distinguished of the new votaries of fanaticism and romance.

March 1227.

Aug. 1227. At the time appointed for the sailing of the

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expedition, Brundisium and its vicinity were crowded with soldiers. But the heats of summer destroyed the health of the people of the north; thousands died, and of those who endeavoured to return to their homes, the greatest part perished through poverty or disease. Although the emperor did not escape the common illness, yet he embarked at Brundisium. But after sailing for three days, additional infirmity compelled him to return. Gregory inherited the papal virtues of violence and ambition. On Michaelmas day he mounted the pulpit of the church of Anagni, and after enlarging on the important results of St. Michael's victory over the Dragon, and declaring that that event was only a type of the Christian and Saracenian states, he pronounced a sentence of excommunication against the emperor, for declining to combat the enemy of God. The bull was circulated throughout Europe,* and the Pope was strong in his ex-

His disputes with the Pope.

* A curé at Paris, instead of reading the bull from the pulpit in the usual form, said to his parishioners, "You know, my "brethren, that I am ordered to fulminate an excommunica- "tion against Frederic. I know not the motive. All that I "know is, that there has been a quarrel between that prince "and the Pope. God alone knows who is right. I excom- "municate him who has injured the other: and I absolve the "sufferer." The emperor sent a present to the preacher, but

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CHAP. V.

pressions of self-commendation for his tenderness to the emperor, in drawing against him the medicinal sword of St. Peter. Frederic wrote letters to the kings and princes of Europe, highly expressive of his indignation at such unworthy treatment. He bitterly censured the rapacity and avarice of the Romish church, and contrasted the general cruelty of its conduct with the spirit of meekness upon which the church of Christ was founded.*

The thunders of the Vatican rolled again and again over the head of the emperor, but the author of them suffered more than the object. The Roman barons were indignant at the unworthy treatment which the successor of Charlemagne, the protector of the church, had received; and they allowed his vindication to be publicly read in the capitol. The emperor sent troops into the papal territories, who ravaged the march of Ancona, and the patrimony of St. Peter. Such of the Hospitallers and Templars (the firm friends of the Pope) as had estates in the imperial dominions in Italy, were plundered and dispossessed.† The emperor

the Pope and the king blamed this sally: le mauvais plaisant was obliged to expiate his fault by a canonical penance.

* M. Paris, 291, 293.

† The soldiers employed on these occasions were Saracens, subjects of the emperor in Sicily. Like their master, they derided the papal bulls.

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heavily taxed his subjects, both churchmen and laity, for the expences of the holy war. The Easter of the year 1228, was celebrated by him and his barons at Barletta, in Apulia, with great pomp; and in an assemblage which was afterwards held there, he provided for the necessities of his kingdom during his absence in Palestine. In the same season of Easter, the Pope endeavoured to renew the censure of the church against Frederic: but the barons incited the people to mutiny, and even compelled the successor of St. Peter to take up a temporary abode in Perugia. In defiance of Gregory's warnings against his entering on the crusade, till he should be relieved from the censures of the church, Frederic embarked at Brundisium in August, and arrived shortly afterwards at Acre.* His presence was heard of with as much satisfaction by the sultan of Egypt as by the Christians. Camel dreaded the ambition of his brother Coradinus, and he considered that the friendship of the European potentate would afford him additional security. But the negociation was conducted with secrecy, and the Italians, not suspecting the existence of so singular a friendship, wondered that Frederic should sail to

He sails to Acre. 1228.

His friendship with the Moslems.

* Before Frederic's departure, his wife Violante died in giving birth to a son, named Conrad.

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CHAP. V. Palestine with only twenty gallies. The joy of the Christians at the arrival of the emperor was soon checked by letters which the patriarch received from the Pope, prohibiting the faithful from obeying a rebellious son of the church. The Teutonick knights feared no clerical censures; and at their head, and of some other soldiers, the emperor quitted Acre, went to Jaffa, and repaired the fortifications of that important city. He then made further advances towards Jerusalem. Though the Templars and Hospitallers refused to join the army whilst an excommunicated emperor commanded it, yet a lurking desire of military glory urged them to follow him at a distance. His necessities, and the inclinations of the knights, gave rise to a conference; and, as usual, principle gave way to will, and it was agreed that the obligation of the cavaliers to support the cause of Christianity might be reconciled with their duty to the Pope, if the orders of the council of war were issued in the name of God and Christendom. The necessity of being prepared for every event, rendered this humiliating circumstance necessary to the emperor. Ever since he had been in Palestine, there had been negociations carrying on between him and Camel. But before they were concluded, the sultan of Damascus died, and Camel, finding himself rid of a powerful

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enemy, became reserved in his communications with Frederic. CHAP. V.

While matters were in this state, news was brought to the emperor of an effectual method which the pope had taken of preventing him from continuing the war in Palestine with the enemies of Christ. The pope's troops, of whom John de Brienne (the father-in-law of Frederic!) was one of the chief commanders, burnt the imperial towns in Italy, imprisoned, tortured, and robbed the people. The duke of Spalatro, the emperor's lieutenant, had been unable successfully to resist, though the imperial army had been but little impaired by Frederic's foreign expedition. These circumstances made the emperor anxious to return to Europe; and when fortune withdrew her smiles from Camel, a treaty was immediately signed. For ten years the Christians and Muselmans were to live upon terms of brotherhood. Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and their appendages, were restored to the Christians. The holy sepulchre likewise was given to them; and the people of both religions might offer up their prayers in the place of devotion, which the former class called the temple of Solomon, and the latter named the mosque of Omar. The address of Frederic more effectually promoted the object of the holy wars than the heroic phrenzy of

Advantageous results of the Crusade.

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CHAP. V.

Richard: many of the disasters consequent on the battle of Tiberias were wiped away, and the serious and habitual hopes of Europe for a permanent settlement in Asia, seemed to be realized. But the barons of the holy land breathing interminable war, and secretly envying superior genius, avowed indignation that a Christian sovereign should accept the friendship of the infidels. The patriarch and clergy hated an excommunicated prince; a man too who had given license to the Saracens to adore their God in a Christian temple. With some appearance of reason, however, they contended that the treaty was not binding on the Muselmans while the approbation of the sultan of Damascus was withheld. But, despising the blood-thirstiness of the barons, and the cruel bigotry of the priests, Frederic asserted his royal prerogatives; and as he had acquired some of the old possessions of the Bouillon family, he avowed his intention of being crowned in the holy city agreeably to constitutional forms. Some persons, discontented with the conditions of the treaty, wished to betray him into the hands of the sultan of Egypt. The guilt of this treachery lies between the Hospitallers and the Templars. Camel read the letter which conveyed to him the news, exclaimed to his associates, "See the "fidelity of these Christian dogs," and dis-

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patched a friend to Frederic with the paper which he had received.* The emperor repaired to Jerusalem; but no hosannas welcomed his approach. By the command of the patriarch no religious ceremonies were performed in the churches during his stay. Even the German prelates preferred their spiritual to their temporal allegiance; and the emperor, accompanied only by his courtiers and the Teutonic knights, went to the church of the sepulchre. He boldly took the crown from the altar, and placed it on his own head, and Herman de Saltza pronounced a laudatory oration. Orders were then given for the restoration of the city's walls,† and the emperor returned to Acre. In that city, too, there was every demonstration of sorrow at his appearance. Mass was performed in secret; the churches were deprived of their ornaments; the bells were not rung, and the dead were interred without any religious ceremony. But by some well-

* M. Paris, 102.

† This is affirmed by the imperial historians. The papal annalists state the reverse; and that the offers of the Templars and Hospitalians to contribute to the expence were despised. The treaty, as reported by Abulfeda, contains a provision that the walls should not be rebuilt. In a letter which, after his return to Europe, Frederic wrote to all his brother kings, in reply to the complaints of the pope, he mentions the liberty of the Christians to rebuild the walls. M. Paris, 301.

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CHAP. V. measured acts of severity, a semblance of respect was at length shewn to the emperor; and he then returned to Europe, leaving the priests and people to thank Heaven for his
1229. departure.*

* Few parts of the Crusades are more difficult to understand, and to reduce into a clear and intelligible form, than the Expedition of Frederic. He was vilified by the Templars and Hospitallers, and other friends of the pope; and their narratives of events are more numerous than those of the imperial party. He gained more for the Christians than any prince had acquired since the first establishment of the kingdom; and if the pope had not hated him worse than his holiness hated the Saracens, and thereby caused his return to Eusope, there is every probability that, after the death of the sultan of Damascus, the emperor would have brought matters to an issue completely triumphant. Gregory IX. and his clergy had the effrontery to tell the world that Frederic had left the sepulchre of Christ in the hands of the infidels. But the fact was, that it was given to the Christians. The temple of Solomon indeed, or rather the mosque of Omar, was left in the hands of the Muselmans; a right of visiting it, however, being allowed to the Christians. For Frederic's expedition I have followed the Chronicle of Richard de S. Germano, in the seventh volume of Muratori, Rer. Script. Ital. Corio, Istoria di Milano, p. 215, &c. the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the sixteenth book of Giannone Istoria di Napoli, and Abulfeda, vol. iv. p. 335-353. My obligations to Matthew Paris and other authors have been noticed.

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CHAP. VI.

THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CRUSADES.

Royal controversies in Palestine—Council of Spoletto —March of Hospitalians from London—French lords take the cross—State of Palestine—Unsuccessful result of the French Crusade—Crusade of the earl of Cornwall—The English redeem the Sepulchre —The Korasmians gain it from the Latins, and devastate Palestine—Council of Lyons—Louis IX. takes the Cross—English Crusaders—Jealousy and treachery of the military orders—The French sail to Cyprus—They arrive off Damietta—They land and capture Damietta—Licentiousness of the French—Arrival of the English Crusaders—The army takes the road to Cairo—Inability to cross the Ashmoun Canal—They are shewn a ford—Impetuosity of the Count d'Artois—His dispute with the Templars and William Longsword—Dreadful events in Massoura —Distresses of the French—The king is made prisoner—Is ransomed—The French go to Acre—New hopes by reason of the Moslem dissensions—Those dissensions quelled—Failure of the Crusade—Louis returns to France.

CHAP. VI.

Royal controversies in Palestine.

THE title of sovereign over Jerusalem was so venerable in the eyes of the religious part of the world, that princes were not deterred from aspiring to it by the circumstance that the

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whole of Christian Palestine consisted only of a few towns. After the departure of Frederic, the princess Alice,* at that time the widow of Hugh de Lusignan, went from Cyprus to Syria, and claimed the crown of her ancestors. But the military orders were firm in their loyalty to the imperial house of Suabia, and resisted the partisans of the pretender till the governor sent an army into the east. His generals, however, repaid the fidelity of the cavaliers by taxing and oppressing them: but nature vindicated her rights; the superiority of the Germans was disowned; they were driven from Acre, and sought refuge in Tyre. The emperor severely reprehended the tyranny of his officers; and knowing that his influence materially rested upon the confidence which existed between himself and the military orders, he restored to the latter the estates in Sicily of which he had unjustly deprived them. At his solicitation the pope, to whom Frederic was now reconciled, dispatched the Archbishop of Ravenna to the holy land as the messenger of peace, and the imperial authority was restored.† But the Christians in Asia were never free from the mildew of civil discord, or the blast of foreign

* See p. 215, ante.

† Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 11. cap. 13.

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war; and they were compelled to warn their brethren in the west, that a new and general Crusade must soon be undertaken. The talents of Saladin and his brother were equal to the management of their vast empires; but their successors preserved only the name of authority in their distant provinces; and many powerful emirs would not consider themselves included in Frederic's treaty of peace. The Christians were often invaded and robbed by the Saracens; and on one occasion, ten thousand pilgrims, in their procession from Acre to the holy city, fell victims to Turkish violence.*

Council of Spoletto. A.D. 1234.

The council of Spoletto decreed that fresh levies should be sent into Asia on the expiration of the truce with Camel.† The Franciscans and Dominicans were the bearers of the resolutions to the princes and people of Christendom. But it was soon apparent that the recovery of the holy land was not the paramount consideration in the mind of Gregory IX., for the preaching of the Crusade once more became the means of filling the papal coffers.

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 11, cap. 13.

† Labbe, vol. xi. p. 481. The Crusade (the seventh), consequent on the council of Spoletto, had two parts:—The expedition of the count of Champagne, and that f Richard, earl of Cornwall. My authorities are Abulfeda, Sanutus, Matthew Paris, and the public letter of Richard, earl of Cornwall.

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By the different engines of persuasion and compulsion, the missionaries gained numberless converts, and then allowed the unwilling, and compelled the wealthy Croises to give the church great largesses in exchange for the vow.

1234—1236. The once humble friars grew so rich by these exactions, that their pride and magnificence were detestable in the eyes of the people. These disgraceful scenes were acted in England for two years; but the indignation of society at the avarice of the pope was so strong, that the preaching ceased. Some of the English nobility were inflamed by the love of warlike praise, and took the cross with no intention of submitting to a pecuniary commutation. The earl of Chester, and also Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to king Henry III., prepared to measure lances with the Saracens.* The desire of crusading, was influenced by events in Palestine. A truce between the sultan of Aleppo and the Templars expired with the life of the Muselman prince; and when his successor renewed the war with them, they sustained so severe a defeat, that every commandery in Europe sent them succours; and even the Hospitalians resolved to avenge the death of their rivals. Three hundred knights and a considerable body of

March of Hospitalians from London.

* M. Paris, 337, 339, 364, 365.

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stipendiaries went from London. Preceded by their prior, they left their residence in Clerkenwell in military procession. On their way to the city's bridge they received and repaid the salutations of the crowds of spectators; and with their caps in their hands, they commended themselves and their cause to the prayers of the people.* A.D.1237.

1236—1239. French lords take the cross.

The spirit of crusading burnt in France, particularly in the middle and southern provinces. Thibaud,† at once count of Champagne, and, in right of his third wife, king of Navarre; Hugh, duke of Burgundy; Henry, count of Bar; Peter, count of Brittany, and many other barons, assembled at Lyons, in order to concert the means of giving effect to their common desire. But a legate of the pope interrupted their councils with announcing the commands of his master for the dissolving of the assembly, and the return of the members to their homes. The Barons remonstrated against this versatility of opinion

* M. Paris, 374. The Hospitallers could well afford this succour to their companions in arms. Writing the history of the year 1244, M. Paris says that the Hospitallers had nineteen thousand manors in Christendom, and the Templars nine thousand. Now although it may be difficult to estimate the value of these estates, yet the notice of M. Paris is the first attempt at specification in the old writers, and deserves regard, as it shews the comparative importance of these two orders.

† The poetry of this man is mentioned in note B B. Appendix.

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in an infallible guide. In obedience to papal commands, they had resolved to take a perilous journey: they had collected stores of provisions and arms; and the purchase of these necessaries had been made by the sale or mortgage of their estates. The nuncio was contumeliously dismissed: and the impetuous multitude would have exposed their feelings in open violence, if they had not been restrained by the grave and temperate clergy. The union of purpose for a Crusade seemed complete when ambassadors from the emperor implored the French barons to wait till Frederic could strengthen and lead their bands. Enthusiasm was chilled; and irresolution had some plea for hopelessness in this attempt at procrastination. But most of the nobility pressed forward to Marseilles, and hoisted sail for the holy land. Indignant at this contempt of his wishes, the emperor prohibited the governors of Apulia and other countries from affording aid to the Crusaders. This measure prevented many parties of cavaliers from pursuing the voyage; but it did not impede those fanatical and romantic warriors, the king of Navarre, the duke of Burgundy, and the counts of Bar and Brittany, from continuing their course to Acre.* The events which had

* M. Paris, 461, 462, 465. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 11, cap. 15.

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lately occurred in Palestine made the task of these barons as arduous as any in the fabled enterprises of knighthood. The kingdom itself was to be regained, and the holy sepulchre once more to be redeemed. News of the warlike preparations of Europe had been communicated to the sultan of Egypt; and the first moment when the faith of treaties opposed not a hostile course, he drove the Latins out of Jerusalem, and overthrew the tower of David, which, until that time, had always been regarded as sacred by all classes of religionists. After this capture Camel died: various princes of Syria and Egypt asserted their pretensions to the vacant throne; but the spirit was too active among the Muselmans, to allow the Christians rationally to hope that they should eventually profit by these dissensions. The count of Champagne advanced from Acre towards Ascalon, with the intention of repairing its fortifications. The war began by a successful irruption of the count of Brittany into the Damascene territories. But in the vicinity of Gaza three hundred Frenchmen, who wished to imitate the glory of the cavaliers of Brittany, were defeated by a smaller number of Turks. The count of Montfort was slain, the count of Bar was taken prisoner; and this defeat struck such terror into the

State of Palestine.

A.D.1238.

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mind of the king of Navarre, that he returned to Acre. As hostilities had failed, the French endeavoured to obtain their objects by alliances with the Saracenian princes: but as they were without a head or centre of union, they negociated like individuals, and formed alliances incompatible with that unity of design which it was necessary for them to maintain. The Templars obtained a promise of the restitution of the holy land, from the emir of Karac, a dependant on the sultan of Damascus, by engaging on their parts to defend him from his Egyptian rival. The Hospitallers, the king of Navarre, the count of Brittany, and others, entered into a treaty of friendship with the sultan of Egypt.*

Unsuccessful result of the French crusade.

Nov. 1239. Crusade of the earl of Cornwall.

Whilst the Christians of Asia were busied in the intrigue of negociation, the English barons assembled at Northampton; and in order to prevent their spiritual lord from turning their arms to the aid of his wars in Italy and Germany, they repaired to the church of All Saints, and bound themselves by oath to conduct their levies straight to Palestine. The pope renewed his endeavours to persuade the English to commute their piety for gold, but his ministers,

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars. 11. c. 15. M. Paris, 474. Abulfeda, iv. 449.

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the Franciscans and Dominicans, were only treated with contempt: and in the spring of the year 1240, Richard, earl of Cornwall,* William Longespee or Longsword,† Theodore, the prior of the Hospitallers, and many others of the nobility, embarked at Dover, for France. They were accompanied from London to the sea-coast by king Henry and his court, and their departure was blessed with the prayers of the bishops. The French monarch received the army with distinction and favour; its march through France resembled a triumph, by reason of the congratulations of the people, and the embarkation was completed at Marseilles in defiance of the prohibition of the pope. The

* The Christian name of the earl of Cornwall alarmed the Saracens. The very word, Richard, was dreaded in Syria; so great was the terror which Cœur de Lion had spread. M. Westminster, p. 303, 304. Syrian mothers used to frighten their children into goodness by telling them that king Richard was coming. The lion-hearted warrior was also dreaded by horses; for if a courser started, the rider would exclaim, "dost "thou think that king Richard is in that bush?"

† This William Longespee was the son of the earl of Salisbury, who went to the holy land in 1219. The companion of the earl of Cornwall was never earl of Salisbury. He claimed the earldom, but right was not done him. Dugdale, Baronage, i. 777, and Brookes' Catalogue of Kings, &c. p. 296, fol. 1622. Both William Longespee and Richard earl of Cornwall were professed heresy extinguishers. In 1225 they assisted Louis in his wars against the Albigenses.

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arrival of Richard and the other barons at Acre, took place shortly after the signature of the discordant treaties between the Templars and the emir of Karac, and the Hospitallers with the sultan of Egypt. The English were astonished to find that the king of Navarre and the count of Brittany had fled from the plains of Syria, when they received intelligence of the departure of reinforcements from Europe. The emir of Karac, too, could not fulfil his treaty, or even restore to the Templars the prisoners which had been made in the battle of Gaza. Richard marched to Jaffa, but as the sultan of Egypt (then at war with the sultan of Damascus) sent to offer him terms of peace, he prudently seized the benefits of negociation. With the consent of the duke of Burgundy, the master of the Hospitallers, and other lords of high degree, he accepted a renunciation of Jerusalem, Beritus, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Mount Thabor, and most of the holy land. An exchange of prisoners was to cement the union. The earl of Cornwall retrograded to Acre, and, unlike the king of Navarre, who left Palestine, careless whether the Saracens observed or despised their treaty, Richard took such active measures that the sultan of Egypt immediately ratified the conditions. The great object of the Crusaders seemed now to be accomplished.

The English redeem the sepulchre.

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Palestine belonged to the Christians. Richard returned to Europe, and was received in every town as the deliverer of the holy sepulchre. From neglect or inability he had not induced the Templars to consent to *his* completion of the hopes of the west: and in spleen and revenge the cavaliers renewed those unfraternal altercations with other knights which had hastened the ruin of the kingdom in the time of Saladin.*

June 1241.

The Hospitallers opened their treasury for the re-edification of the walls of Jerusalem. The patriarch and clergy entered the sacred city, and reconsecrated the churches.† For two years Christianity was the only religion administered in Jerusalem, and the faithful began to exult in the apparent permanent downfall of infidelity, when a new enemy arose more dreadful than even the Muselmans. The great Tartarian princes, Zingis Khan and his

The Korasmians gain it, and devastate Palestine.

* M. Paris, 463, 470, 479. The public letter of Richard contains a narrative of the events of the Crusade, p. 503-505, 511, 534. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 11. cap. 16. William of Salisbury returned about a year after Richard. M. Paris, 516. It seems from the Arabic accounts that the sultan of Damascus, and not the sultan of Egypt, conceded Palestine to the Franks. Macrisi in Joinville, p. 234. It is, however, clear that the English were formidable as a third party between the two sultans, and that they made much of their political situation.

† M. Paris, 543. Macrisi in Joinville, 234.

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successors, had obliterated the vast empire of Korasm: and the expelled and defeated Tartars fled to the South. The storm rolled on towards Egypt; the Korasmians demanded a settlement; the sultan was the only Moslem prince who entered into treaties with those barbarians; and he advised them to fix themselves in Palestine.* He sent one of his principal emirs, and a large body of troops as their guides and coadjutors, and at the head of twenty thousand horse, Barbacan, the Korasmian general, entered the holy land. The Christians in Jerusalem heard with dismay that the Tartarian

* This is the occasion of the Korasmian war, as appears from a public letter of the clergy of the east to the clergy of the west, preserved in M. Paris, p. 566. The master of the Hospitallers (p. 548) says that the Korasmians were requested and commanded by the sultan to invade Palestine. The emperor Frederic (p. 546) charges the Templars with having violated the treaty which the earl of Cornwall had made with the sultan of Egypt, and traces to that cause the hostility of the Korasmians. Though every thing which fell from the emperor, respecting the Templars, must be received with suspicion, on account of his indignation against them for their conduct to the German or Teutonic knights, yet there can be little doubt that the red cross knights did commit such hostilities, for they were friends only with the sultan of Damascus and the emir of Karac. The emperor might be right in his facts, but he was certainly wrong in his conclusions, for no measures of the military orders could have prevented the Korasmians from ravaging and destroying Syria and Palestine.

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tempest had reached their territories. On the principle that it was wise to oppose one barbarian to another, the knights summoned the sultans of Ems and Damascus to overthrow the common enemy of mankind. But the requisition was not complied with, and it was evident from the ruined state of the walls that Jerusalem was no longer tenable. The cavaliers, and many of the inhabitants, abandoned the sacred city. The Korasmians entered it, spared neither lives nor property, and violated both Christian and Muselman sanctuaries. In the wantonness of cruelty they disinterred the departed great, and made a cremation of venerable remains. The insulting fanatics of savageness murdered priests round the altars, exclaiming, while they stabbed the holy men, "let us pour their blood on the place where "they poured out wine in commemoration of "their crucified God." As crafty as ferocious, they planted a banner of the cross upon the walls, and, deceived by this joyful appearance, several thousands of the fugitives returned to the city, but only to partake of the miserable doom of their friends.* The repeated solici-

* On this subject see the several letters in Matthew Paris, quoted in the last note; and Macrisi, p. 235. The narratives differ in some points respecting the mode of destruction; but the result is clear.

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tations of the Templars at length brought four thousand soldiers from their Syrian allies. The united Christian and Muselman forces were so far inferior to the Tartars, that policy required a course of measures perfectly defensive. But the fury of the patriarch precipitated the army into the gulph of destruction. The awful conflict raged for two days. The soldiers of Damascus and Ems were soon slain, or scattered. The loss of every part of the army was great, almost beyond example. Seldom had the Latins rued in one battle the death of the two grand masters of St. John and the Temple. Only sixteen Hospitallers, thirty-three Templars, and three Teutonick cavaliers remained alive and free. These soldiers fled to Acre, and that city became the refuge of the Christians. After having rased the fortifications of Ascalon, and the castle of Tiberias, the Korasmians and Egyptians encamped on the plains of Acre, devastated the country, and slew or led into captivity all straggling Franks. Jaffa was next attacked, and Sir Walter de Brienne, lord of that city, who had been taken
1244. in the late battle, was exposed on a gallows to the view of the inhabitants, and they were assured of his continuance in that degrading situation until the castle should be surrendered. But the count, in generous self-obli-

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vion, urged his soldiers to the virtue of firmness, and added that no confidence could be placed in the promises of the furious and inexorable sultan. The gallant Walter was led as a captive to Cairo, and the Egyptians, incapable of admiring greatness, basely murdered their heroic and fallen foe. An united force of Korasmians and Mamelukes conquered Damascus, and Europe heard with dismay that the Muselman power was again consolidating. But the members soon were separated, for the sultan of Egypt, faithless as cruel, denied his allies a permanent settlement on the shores of the Nile. The soldiers of fortune flew to the banner of the Damascene prince, and assisted him in his efforts to recover his capital. But the cause of the Mamelukes was felt as the common interest of the Moslem world, and all Syria, as well as all Egypt, was in arms in order to exterminate the northern barbarians. In a general engagement the Korasmians were defeated and scattered. Barbacan was slain, and southern Asia recovered from its panic and distress.* CHAP. VI. 1247.

The superstition of a French king, and the successes of the savage Korasmians, gave birth Council at Lyons, 1245.

* Joinville, 209-211. Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 12. cap. 1. De Guignes, livre 14. M. Paris, 599, and the letters already cited.

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to the eighth Crusade. Pope Innocent IV. convoked a general council at Lyons; the bishop of Beritus described the effects of the Tartarian storm, and left his ecclesiastical brethren to conclude, whether one effort should not be made for a restoration of things to the state in which Richard earl of Cornwall had left them. It was accordingly resolved that a Crusade should be preached throughout Christendom, and that for four years peace and seriousness should reign over Europe. Such of the faithful as did not expose their persons in the holy cause were to give the subsidiary aid of treasure; and the contribution to be made by the cardinals was fixed at a tenth, and that of the other ecclesiastics at a twentieth part of their yearly revenues.*

The Pope wrote to Henry III. king of England, urging him to press on his subjects the necessity of punishing the Korasmians.† But

* The usual privileges were granted to the Crusaders. M. Paris, p. 580-595, gives a full account of the proceedings of this council at Lyons. The subject is interesting to the English reader, on account of the spirited remonstrances of the English barons against the rapacity of the Romish church. The tax for the support of the Crusade was warmly opposed at the council, because the people remembered the way in which the pope had applied their former contributions. M. Paris, 595.

† Rymer, i. 254, new edit.

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the spirit of crusading raged more strongly in France than in any other country of the west; and it revived in all its fierceness of piety and chivalry in Louis IX. Agreeably to the temper of the times, he had vowed, whilst afflicted by a severe illness, that in case of recovery he would travel to the holy land.* In the delirium of his fever, he had beheld an engagement between the Christians and the Saracens; the infidels were victorious, and the brave king of a valiant nation fancied himself called upon to avenge the defeat.† The victories of the Korasmians were a realization of part of his dream, and his preparations had anticipated the decrees of the Lyonese council. The cross was likewise taken by the three royal brothers, the counts of Artois, Poitiers, and Anjou, by the duke of Burgundy, the countess of Flanders, and her two sons, the count of St. Paul, and

Louis IX. takes the cross.

* The Crusade of St. Louis (the eighth Crusade) has for its authorities M. Paris, the history of St. Louis, by Joinville, seneschal of Champagne; and Macrisi, the Oriental Chronicle, and other Arabic historians, collected and translated by the Parisian editors of Joinville, 1761. Joinville, as an historian, is precisely of the same character as Villehardouin; and fortunately Charles Du Fresne Du Cange enriched both works with numerous and valuable notes. I shall generally quote Mr. Johnes' translation.

† This vow was made about the year 1244. Nangis and Chronicle of St. Denys, cited in Du Cange's notes. From

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many other knights.* By serious arguments and bland persuasions, the royal advisers endeavoured to turn their master from the perilous enterprise. But his warlike heroism and religious devotion were stimulated, rather than checked, at the thoughts of danger, and he burnt with the noble desire of wiping from his escutcheon the stains of the timidity of Louis VII. and Philip Augustus.† If it were the policy of the Syrian Muselmans to oppose the

the moment of his resolving to go to the holy land, St. Louis quitted all pomp of dress: he exchanged his purple for black, a royal for a religious habit. During the Crusade he abstained from wearing scarlet, vair, or ermine. The example of the monarch gave efficacy to the laws regarding simplicity of dress, and the lord of Joinville assures us, that, during the whole time he was attending the king on his Crusade, he never once saw an embroidered coat of arms. The French barons, however, when resident in Damietta, were less rigid in morality than in dress.

* M. Paris, 600, and Joinville.

† M. Paris tells a story singularly indicative of the king's zeal for a Crusade: "One night during the Christmas festival "(A.D. 1245), Louis caused magnificent crosses, fabricated by "goldsmiths, to be sewn on the new dresses, which, as usual "upon such occasions, had been bestowed upon the courtiers. "The next day the cavaliers were surprised at the religious "ornaments which had been affixed to their cloaks; piety and "loyalty combined to prevent them from renouncing the "honours which had been thrust upon them, and the good "king obtained the title of the hunter for pilgrims and fisher "for men."

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torrent of success of the sultan of Egypt and the Korasmians, the French, who saw almost all the holy land laid desolate, and who were on the point of being driven from it, were not less animated to defend a country, the conquest and possession of which had cost them so much blood. The interests of religion, the glory of their arms, the necessity of defending their colony in the east, and the rights of property and old possession, naturally led them to new efforts.*

English Crusaders.

Sentiments of respect for the king of France were not felt in his country alone; the people of England revered his name, and avowedly in imitation of his example, the bishop of Salisbury, William Longespee,† Walter de Lucy, and many other English nobles and gentlemen, were crossed. William Longespee was, or feigned himself, poor, and went to Rome to solicit the aid of the Pope. "Your holiness "sees that I am signed with the cross; my "name is great and of note, William Longe-

* De Guignes, iv. 112. The songs of the minstrels reflected the opinion of the age; and we have evidence from a chanson of Rutebeuf, a French rhymer of the thirteenth century, that the world were not only weary of crusading, but saw the folly of it. The subject is discussed by a Crusader and a Non-crusader. See Appendix, Note C C.

† The same William Longespee who had accompanied Richard, earl of Cornwall, to the holy land, in the year 1240.

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" spee, but my fortune is not equal to the dig-
" nity of my family. The king of England,
" my relation, and liege lord, has bereft me of
" the title and estate of earl of Salisbury; but
" he has done this judicially, and not in his dis-
" pleasure, or by the impulse of his will; there-
" fore I cast no blame on him. But I am com-
" pelled to fly to your compassionate heart for
" aid in this distress. We see that the noble
" Richard, earl of Cornwall, although not signed
" with the cross, yet, through the favour of
" your holiness, has received large sums of
" money from those who are signed, and there-
" fore, I who am signed and in want, do entreat
" the like kindness." As the Englishman did not require the coffers of the Vatican, the Pope received him with favour, admired his eloquence and chivalric accomplishments, and gave him letters of licence to plunder his crusading countrymen. Longespee returned to England, and extorted more than a thousand marks from the religious, while the less scrupulous or more powerful earl of Cornwall was insatiable in his avarice, and gained from one archdeacon alone, six hundred pounds.*

Political circumstances† detained St. Louis

* M. Paris, 638, 639.

† M. Paris, 578, 645. The Pope and the king made the

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in France for three years; but the money and troops which he sent to the holy land invigorated the hopes of the Latin Christians. The ranks of the military orders were recruited by hired troops and regular knights from the different stations in Europe. In one endeavour to strengthen themselves, they failed. In former wars, the cavaliers who died on the field, and those who were made prisoners, were considered equally lost to the cause, for the order of which they were members never thought of ransoming their brethren. But at this exigent moment rules were made to bend to circumstances, and a deputation of the Hospitallers and Templars waited on the sultan of Egypt. But he rejected their offers of gold. He expressed his detestation of a perfidious class of men who would formerly have betrayed their emperor. "Their mutual ani- Jealousy and treachery of the military orders.
"mosity is stronger than their hatred of their
"enemies. The Templars and Hospitallers
"are both traitors and cowards. They
"violated the treaty which I made with the
"king of England's brother, whom they called
"in contempt, the boy. In the last great battle
"their standard-bearer was the first man who

clergy of France, for three years, contribute a tenth of their revenues for the service of the Crusade. M. Paris, 620.

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" fled. By the rules of military knights the ca-
" puce and girdle are all that should be offered
" as a ransom, and I will not strengthen their
" numbers by accepting their money. God
" has delivered them into my hands, and I will
" punish them." After this interview, the Egyptian ministers assured the envoys, that the only way of obtaining the release of their friends was the intercession of the emperor. The sultan loved and esteemed him, and the slightest expression of his will would be followed by immediate gratification.*

The French sail to Cyprus.

On the 12th of June, 1248, Louis, attended by his three brothers, went to the abbey of St. Denys, and received from the pope's legate the oriflamme,† the alms' purse, and pilgrim's staff.

* These interesting circumstances respecting the friendship between the emperor and the sultan of Egypt, are recorded by M. Paris, p. 610. In a letter of the sultan to the Pope, on the subject of a negociation (a fruitless one) for peace, he mentions his own friendship and that of his father for the emperor. M. Paris, 621. See before, p. 255.

† The oriflamme, or aurea flamma, was the banner of the abbot and monastery of St. Denys. It was carried by the counts of Vixen and Pontoise, who were the leaders of the vassals of that church till the reigns of Philip the First, or of his son Louis the Fat, who became counts of Vixen. From that time the French kings were protectors of the church of St. Denys; but, as the saint himself was protector of the kingdom, the king carried into the *public* wars the standard of him whose

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He sailed from France at the end of August, and arrived in September at Cyprus, the appointed rendezvous for his barons and their vassals.* The king remained eight months in Cyprus, employed in organizing his troops, in works of piety, and particularly in healing the CHAP. VI.

aid they invoked. In the time of Charles VII. the white ensign superseded the use of the oriflamme. The standard of St. Denys, like all other church banners, was slit in different parts from the bottom, ornamented with fringes, and fastened at the top of a pike by a cross bar that kept it extended. The lance was gilded, and the colour of the materials of the standard was red: from these circumstances the name of oriflamme was given to the standard. Menage, Dict. Etymol. and Du Cange, Dissert. 18.

* Among other noblemen who joined Louis, was the seneschal of Champagne, and about twenty knights. Before Joinville's ship left Marseilles, the priests and clerks on board chaunted hymns, and the mariners set their sails in the name of God. When they were out of sight of land, the seneschal thought that a man must be a great fool, who should put himself into maritime dangers, who has wronged any one, or has any mortal sins on his conscience: "for when he goes to sleep in the evening, "he knows not if in the morning he may not find himself "under the sea." For two nights and a day they endeavoured to pass a huge mountain off Barbary. A discreet churchman relieved their distress, by the assurance, that in case of any unpleasant circumstance in his parish, all was set to rights by making a procession three times on a Saturday. This fact was mentioned on a Saturday, and accordingly a procession was made round the masts of the ship; such men as were ill were supported. Faith had its reward, for the mountain was soon lost sight of. Joinville, p. 116, 118.

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breaches in charity between the military orders. The Venetians and other people assisted the French with provisions; on one occasion the supplies of the emperor Frederic preserved the army, and the grateful king implored the Pope to absolve a man who had been benevolent to the soldiers of the church. The ambassadors of a Tartarian prince appeared before Louis, offering their master's aid to root the Saracens and Pagans out of the holy land. The king sent a magnificent present to his ally, in order to bribe him to become a Christian. Two black monks, who understood the Arabic language, were charged with the missionary office, and their eloquence and embroidered representation of some of the mysteries of Christianity were to effect the conversion of the Scythian savage and his court.* In the spring of the year 1249, the soldiers of Louis were mustered, and his ships prepared for sea: fifty thousand men formed his military force, and eighteen hundred was the number of his transports, palandars, and store ships. They set sail for Egypt; a storm separated the fleet; and the royal division, in which were nearly three thousand knights and their men at arms, arrived off Damietta.

Arrive off Damietta.

* Joinville, 120.

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The shores were lined by the sultan's troops, who astonished the French by the clangour of trumpets and brazen drums. The heralds of the king of France instantly went to the sultan, Nodgemeddin (a son of Camel,) near Ashmoum, and spared no language of exaggeration in describing the power of their master. The only way to avoid the tempest was to receive priests who would teach the Christian religion to the people of Egypt:* otherwise he would pursue them every where, and God should decide on whom the country should be given. The sultan replied, that he also knew the use of arms, and,

* It was very seldom that the Christians thought of converting the Muselmans. When the sword failed, then they resorted to arguments. The occasion will excuse me from departing from chronological order, and saying, that in the year 1285, Pope Honorius IV. in his design to convert the Saracens to Christianity, wished to establish schools at Paris for the tuition of people in the Arabic and other oriental languages, agreeably to the intentions of his predecessors. In every subsequent project for a Crusade, it was always proposed to instruct the Saracens *sword in hand*. The council of Vienne in 1312 recommended the conversion of the infidels, and the re-establishment of schools, as the way to recover the holy land. It was accordingly ordered that there should be professors of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca; and that the learned should translate into Latin the best Arabic books. It was not till the time of Francis I. that this decree was acted upon. He founded the royal college, and sent even into the east for books. See Du Boulay, Hist. de l'Université de Paris, tom. iii. page 472.

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like the French, inherited valour. The cause of the Muselmans was that of justice; and the Koran declared, that they who made war unjustly should perish. The armies of the Christians might be more numerous than the Mameluke bands; but the word of God also said, "How often have the most numerous armies "been destroyed by a handful of soldiers!"*

Some of the knights wished to dissuade the king from landing, till the appearance of their brethren in arms: but the remembrance of the late storm made him dread further maritime dangers. Accordingly, on the second day after their arrival, Louis commanded the disembarkation: he himself leaped into the water; his shield was suspended from his neck, his helmet was on his head, and his lance on his wrist. His soldiers followed him to the shore; and the Saracens, panic-struck at their boldness and determination, made but a slight show of defence, and fled into the interior of the country. Although Damietta was better prepared for a siege than in those days when it had sustained an attack of eighteen months' duration, yet the garrison sought safety in the fleetness of their horses. They were received at Cairo with the indignation which their cowardice merited; and the sultan (who had repaired thither from Ash-

They land and capture Damietta.

June 1249.

* Macrisi, 239, &c.

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moum) strangled fifty of the chiefs. The people of Damietta loaded themselves with their most valuable effects, set fire to the part of the city in which their merchandize and plunder were collected, and then took flight for Cairo.* Louis fixed his residence in the city; a Christian government was established; and the clergy, agreeably to old custom, purified the mosques. According to ancient usage, one-third part of the spoil should have been allotted to the general in chief, and the remaining portions had been usually divided among the pilgrims: but at the suggestion of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Louis ordered that the corn and provisions should form a magazine for the common benefit of the army; and he retained to himself the rest of the moveable booty.†

Licentiousness of the French.

Neither the religious character of the war, nor the importance of preserving military discipline, had any effect on the conduct of the holy warriors. The barons emulated each other in the splendour of their banquets, and the commonalty abandoned themselves to the lowest vices. So general was the immorality, that the king

* Joinville, 126, &c. Macrisi, 239, &c.

† This residue was not worth more than six thousand livres. Louis drew great obloquy to himself by dividing the plunder in a manner which the good old customs of the Crusades did not warrant. Joinville, 120-128.

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could not stop the foul and noxious torrent.* The Saracens effected that change which considerations of virtue could not accomplish; for their gradually accumulating force in the neighbourhood of Damietta made the Christians return to watchfulness and order. The hope of the reward of a piece of gold for an enemy's head inspirited the Muselmans to many enterprises of difficulty and danger; but Louis prevented at length their incursions into his camp, for he surrounded it with deep ditches, and his cross-bow men galled the approaching parties of Muselman cavalry. The French looked with impatience for the count of Poitiers and the arrière-ban of France, the remainder of the force which had sailed from Cyprus, and had been driven to Acre in the tempest.† At the recommendation of the seneschal of Champagne, the

* Les barons, chevaliers, et autres, qui deussent avoir bien gardé leur bien, et l'avoir espergné pour s'en secourir en lieu et en temps, se prindrent à faire grans banquets les ungs aux autres en habondance de viandes delicieuses. Et le commun peuple se print à forcer et violer femmes et filles. Dont de ce advint grant mal. Car il failut que le roy en donnant congié à tout plain de ses gens et officiers. Car ainsi que le bon roy me dist, il treuve jusques à ung gect de pierre prés et à l'entour de son paveillon plusieurs bordeaux, que ses gens tenoient. Et d'autres maulx y avoit plus, que en ost qu'il eust jamés veu. Joinville, Hist du roy Saint Loys, p. 32, edit. Paris, 1668.

† This is Joinville's account; he could scarcely have been

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three processions of the worthy dean of Mauru were ordered;* and before the third Saturday the count of Poitiers reached Egypt; and, fortunately for him, says Joinville, he did not arrive earlier, for, during the space of the two preceding Saturdays, there had been such continued storms at sea before Damietta, that twelve score vessels, great and small, were wrecked and sunk, and their crews drowned.† The French also were joined by two hundred English knights, led by William Longespee, whose valour rose on every call to war against the Muselmans.‡ Some of the barons in the council at Damietta thought that it would be wise to attempt the city and port of Alexandria; but the count of Artois and the most enterprising spirits proposed, that they should advance to Grand Cairo itself. The king adopted the opinions of his brother; and at the close of November, the army commenced its march to the capital of

Oct. 1249.

Arrival of the English Crusaders.

The army takes the road to Cairo.

mistaken in a matter of this nature; but Vincent de Beauvois and Mangis say that the count of Poitiers left France in the middle of August, and sailed direct to Damietta.

* See note p. 283, ante.

† Joinville, 130, &c.

‡ M. Paris, 664, 678. While Longespee was in the holy land, Henry III. at the instigation of the pope, had the Crusade preached in England, and wrote to the Irish bishops, desiring them to preach it in their respective dioceses. The result does not appear. Rymer, i. 274.

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Egypt. Until their approach to the vicinity of Massoura, they overcame the open and insidious enmity of the Saracens. Soon after his departure from Damietta, the king accepted the proffered aid of five hundred horsemen of the sultan, and commanded his army to respect their guides. Vainly thinking that this order was inflexible to circumstances, the Saracens attacked the Templars, who formed the van of the army. But the valiant knights rallied round their grand master, and invoking God to aid them in this perilous conjuncture, they rushed upon and destroyed their treacherous foes. Sacedeen,* the Egyptian emir, and his army were encamped on the opposite side of the Ashmoum canal, which the French in vain endeavoured to cross. Under the cover of two chas-chateils they commenced a causeway over the canal: but the Saracens ruined in a day the work of a month; and even crossed the Nile by one of the passages which were familiar to them, and gave battle to the enemy. The counts of Anjou and Poitiers repulsed, but could not rout them; for

Inability to cross the Ashmoum canal.

* Nodgemeddin died shortly before the Christians left Damietta. Sacedeen was only the commander of the Egyptian forces, whom the widow of the late sultan and her friends had appointed. Every thing was done in the name of Nodgemeddin, because his son, Toorun Shah, was not arrived. Sacedeen's military qualities had gained him the honour of knighthood from the emperor Frederic.

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their military machines enabled them to remain on the defensive.* The ships on the sea-coast were stripped of all their spare timbers; and, at an immense cost, two new chas-chateils were erected. But on the very day they were set up, the Saracens burnt them with the Greek fire.† The Christians had now no hope of passing the canal by means of a causeway; but their despair was relieved by a Bedoween, who offered, for the recompense of five hundred besants, to shew them a ford. The impetuous count of Artois offered to effect a passage, and, with the aid of the two military orders, to secure the march of the army. He was entrusted with the important charge; and, at the head of fourteen hundred knights, and William Longespee and his troops, he followed the steps of the guide. They threw themselves into the water; and, after having overcome some slight resistance of the Turks, mounted the opposite bank.

They are shewn a ford.

* The torrents of Greek fire alarmed the Christians, and destroyed their cats. A terrified spectator described this fire as in appearance like a large tun; and its tail was of the length of a long spear! the noise which it made resembled thunder; and it seemed a great dragon of fire flying through the air. Joinville speaks of the Greek fire as if it had been hitherto unknown to the Franks. On the contrary, the Turks had used it even in the first Crusade.

† Joinville, 134—138.

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The count pursued the foes even as far as their camp. Fortune accompanied his steps, and the infidels fled. Some concealed themselves for awhile in Massoura, and many sought remote distances. If the count of Artois had listened to the counsels of the leaders of the military friars and red-cross knights, he would not have advanced from the river until the main body of the army arrived. By sad experience they knew that bravery and cowardice were perpetually vacillating in the breasts of the Turks, and that fury generally succeeded panic. The sight of Massoura, deserted by many of its inhabitants, could not be viewed with calmness; and ardent heroism regarded prudence as the mask of pusillanimity.

Feb. 1250.

His dispute with the Templars and William Longsword.

To the representations of the grand master of the Templars, that the flight of the Turks proceeded only from an accidental alarm, and not a permanent impression of terror, the count replied, that such an opinion could only spring from treachery. "It is not without reason," he continued, "that we have been repeatedly "told that the Templars and Hospitallers, to "shew their own importance, and to exhaust "the coffers of Europe, prevent a conclusion "from being put to the war. For fear of be-"ing subject to the western kings, they have "either poisoned many lords and princes, or

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" delivered them into the hands of the enemy. " Who is there that does not know with what " difficulty the emperor Frederic escaped their " snares and ambushes?" In a noble manner of mixed dignity and indignation, the Christian knights replied, " Do you think, great prince, " that we have abandoned our fortunes and " homes, that we have taken the religious habit " in a strange land, only to betray the cause " of God, and to lose our own salvation?" " Display your banner," exclaimed the master of the Templars to his standard-bearer, " arms and death must decide our fate and " honour. We were invincible while we were " united; but a spirit of division will destroy " us." William Longsword interposed with the language of conciliation, urging the claims to attention which the experienced grand master possessed: but opposition still further inflamed the rage of the count; and, in the delirium of passion, he transgressed the bounds of chivalrous courtesy. " Behold the cowardice," he exclaimed, " of those men who wear tails.* " How happy it would be for us if the army " were quit of them." Longsword would not shew that he felt the insult, and mildly, yet firmly, observed, " Count Robert, I will go so

* See note D D.

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Dreadful events in Massoura.

" far in danger to-day, that you shall not even " dare to touch the tail of my horse." The soldiers rushed into Massoura; and heroic envy mocked at discipline and co-operation. But the enemy, seeing their squadrons scattered, recovered courage; and the green standard of the prophet was raised in sign of ferocious hostility. With all the appalling din of Tartarian war, the Mamelukes burst upon the French. The Count of Artois rallied his forces in the town. The Egyptian chief invested Massoura; and, with ability equal to his spirit, placed a body of troops in such a station, as to intercept the communication between the count and the king. The soldiers in Massoura engaged the French. The inhabitants partook of the perils of the day, and poured upon their enemy, with deadly effect, burning coals, boiling water, and stones. The count survived not to witness all the dreadful issues of his rashness. William Longespee and a numerous band of gallant men also perished.* The grand master of St. John fell into the enemy's hands; and the master of the Templars was

* Joinville places the number that the French lost at three hundred knights: the Oriental Chronicle says one thousand four hundred. According to M. Paris, p. 686, of the military orders, only three Templars, four Hospitalians, and three Teutonick knights survived.

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happy in escaping with the loss of an eye. On the side of the enemy Sacedeen was slain; but his station was quickly filled by a chief of equal bravery and conduct. The king and his army crossed the ford, and prevented the total rout of the Christians. His battle-axe and German sword* dealt death wherever they fell. The valiant master of the Templars was slain in this renewed engagement. Egyptian and Christian annalists have claimed the honour and rewards of victory for their respective sides: but in truth the result of the battle appears to have been indecisive.† The Saracens, however, cut off all communications between St. Louis and Damietta. Famine and disease appeared in the Christian camp, and the French described the latter of those evils as having sprung from a pestilential air emitted from the dead bodies of their friends and foes, and from eating eel pouts which had fed on corpses in the river.‡

Distresses of the French.

* The German swords were usually long, and are mentioned in opposition to the short swords of the French. Du Cange on Joinville, 328.

† Joinville, 155. Macrisi, 247.

‡ From this poisonous diet, "and from the bad air of a "country where it scarcely ever rains, the whole army was "infected by a shocking disorder, which dried up the flesh "on one's legs to the bone, and our skins became tanned as "black as the ground, or like an old boot that has long lain "behind a coffer. In addition to this miserable disorder,

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Negociations for peace were opened between the contending powers, and the exchange of the lordship of Jerusalem for that of Damietta formed the basis of the treaty. The king offered either of his brothers as a hostage for the delivery of Damietta to the Egyptians; but the sultan objected, and all hopes of peace were abandoned, because the Christians would not consent to the delivery of their king as the hostage. The miserable condition of the French army not only forbad all thoughts of victory, but imperatively called for a retreat to Damietta. The retreat was ordered; but those who attempted it by the river were taken by the enemy, and the fate of such as proceeded by land was equally disastrous. While they were occupied in constructing a bridge over the canal, the Muselmans entered the camp, and murdered the sick. The valiant Louis, though oppressed with the general calamity of disease, sustained

" those afflicted by it had another sore complaint in the mouth, " from eating eel pouts that rotted the gums. Very few es- " caped death that were attacked, and the surest symptom of " its being fatal, was a bleeding at the nose."—" The barbers " were obliged to cut away large pieces of flesh from the gums " to enable the patients to eat. It was pitiful to hear the cries " and groans of those on whom the operation was performed: " they seemed like to the cries of women in labour, and I " cannot express the great concern all felt who heard them." Joinville, 159, 162.

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boldly, with Sir Godfrey de Sergines, the shock of the enemy, and threw himself into the midst of them, resolved to perish in defending his troops. The brave Sergines, who never left him, succeeded at last in drawing him from the foe, and conducted him to a village, where his lassitude and wounds sunk him into insensibility and helplessness. In that state the Muselmans made him prisoner. Charles, count of Anjou, Alphonsus of Poitiers, and indeed all the nobilty, fell into the enemy's hands. The sultan clothed the king and the nobles with robes of honour, and treated them with kindness and generosity.* But many of the unfortunate men who were ill, and therefore useless, were killed by their new masters, in defiance of the command of Saladin, and the general usage of oriental nations, not to put to death any one to whom they had given bread and salt. Other prisoners saved their lives by renouncing their religion: the Saracenic commander indulged the fanaticism of his people by allowing the converts to be received, though he well remembered the sage remark of Saladin, that a Christian was never known to

The king made prisoner.

* Joinville, 162, &c. De Guignes, iv. 117, 119. After saying that he was taken prisoner, the seneschal of Champagne describes his feelings on the occasion. "I soon began to "tremble, so that my teeth chattered, as well from the fright I "had as from the disorder." Joinville, 166.

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make a good Moslem, nor a good Saracen a Christian.* So great were the calamities of the French in this attempted retreat, that twenty thousand were made captives, and seven thousand were slain or drowned.

As a ransom for the noble prisoners the sultan offered to accept of some of the baronial castles in Palestine, or those which belonged to the Templars and Hospitalians. But the king and his peers replied, that the liege lord, the emperor of Germany, would never consent that a Pagan or Tartar should hold any fief of him; and that no cession of the property of the knights could be made, for the governors of their castles swore on their investiture that they would never surrender their charge for the deliverance of any man. The king was even threatened with torture; but as the Muselmans saw in him no symptoms of fear on which they could work, they proposed to make a pecuniary ransom. Louis offered to pay ten thousand golden besants, which were equal to five hundred thousand livres, for the deliverance of his army, and that as the royal dignity could not be estimated by

* Joinville, 170. "Pure Paganism and native infidelity, "like white cloth, will take the tincture of Christianity; whereas "the Turks are soiled and stained with the irreligious religion "of Muhammedanism, which first must with great pains be "scoured out of them." Fuller's Holy War, book 4, ch. 3.

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a vulgar scale, he would for his own freedom surrender the city of Damietta.* The sultan was liberal in the fulness of his joy at such a completion of his victories, and remitted a fifth part of the pecuniary ransom.† Peace was to continue for ten years between the Muselmans and the Christians, and the Franks were to be restored to those privileges in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which they enjoyed before the landing of Louis at Damietta. The repose which succeeded the treaty was interrupted by the murder of the sultan: but after a few acts of hostility, the successful emirs, and their Mamelukes, renewed with a few changes the conditions of amity.‡ One moiety of the ransom was

Is ransomed.

June, 1250.

* The king at first said, if the sultan would be contented with a reasonable ransom, he would write to the queen to pay it for himself and his army. The Saracens inquired the reason of his wish for this preliminary. He answered that it was but reasonable he should consult with the queen, for she was his wife and companion. Joinville, 173. The treaty, however, was concluded without her knowledge. She quitted Damietta for Acre soon after the captivity of the king.

† Du Cange, 20th Dissert. on Joinville. Le Blanc (cited in L'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 584) makes the ransom of St. Louis equivalent to seven millions of livres modern French money.

‡ The lord of Joinville, and some others, expected instant death from a party of Saracens that entered their galley. "With "regard to myself (he says), I fell on my knees at the feet "of one of them; and, making the sign of the cross, said,

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to be discharged before the king left the river, and the other on his arrival at Acre. The sick at Damietta, with the stores and baggage, were to be retained by the sultan till the last portion of the ransom should be paid. Damietta was accordingly surrendered. But the Mamelukes were more savage and unprincipled than any preceding enemies of the Latin name. They burnt all the military engines, murdered the sick, and some of the most ferocious thirsted for the blood of the Christian potentates. They concealed their malignity under the mask of piety, and declared that as they had committed a sin, by destroying their sultan, whom by their law they should have guarded as the apple of their eye, so their religion would be injured if they suffered a Christian king to live. But other chiefs disdained any compromise with vice, and refused to participate in an act which never could be blotted from the records of time. The counsels of justice prevailed, and the Christians were relieved from their fears that the treaty would not be acted upon. The earls of

" ' Thus did St. Agnes.' Sir Guy d'Ibelin, constable of " Cyprus, knelt beside me, and confessed himself to me, and " I gave him such absolution as God was pleased to grant " me the power of bestowing; but of all the things he said " to me, when I rose, I could not remember one of them." Joinville, 176.

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Flanders and Brittany, the count of Soissons, and others embarked for France. The royal treasure at Damietta could not furnish the stipulated portion of the ransom. The new grand master of the Templars opposed the institutes of his order to the king's request for a loan of the funds of the society, and contended that he could not divert them from their regular and appointed purposes. But state necessity trampled over mere statutable forms, and the chest of the Templars was seized by the royal officers. The king's person was redeemed, and the French went to Acre.*

The French go to Acre.

Before Louis could determine to what part of the holy regions before him he would direct his march, political news from France compelled him to inform his council, that he was divided between his duty to Europe, and his ardent wish to perfect the glorious work which he had begun. The cause of Palestine was the paramount principle in the breasts of the French lords: some of them urged the propriety of his return to the west, for the purpose of recruiting the

* The expedition of St. Louis into Egypt resembles in many respects the war in Egypt thirty years before. In both cases the Christian armies were encamped near the entrance of the Ashmoum canal: they could not advance, and the surrender of Damietta was the price of safety. The errors of the cardinal Pelagius seem not to have been recollected by St. Louis.

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sinews of war; others presumed to think that his private treasures were not in the exhausted condition of the state finances, and that stipendiaries could be hired in Greece. "My lords," said the king, "I feel equally thankful to those "who have advised our return to France, as to "those who have recommended our stay in the "holy land. But, I believe, that should we "remain here, the dangers of my kingdom will "not, for that reason, increase; for my lady "mother, the queen, has a sufficiency of men "at arms to defend it. I have thought much "on what the knights of the country say, that "if I depart, the kingdom of Jerusalem will be "lost, since no one will remain here after me. "Now, my lords, having told my resolution, "let such speak out boldly as wish to continue "with me; my treasures shall support them. "God be with those that may not choose to "stay." Many of the council were astonished at this resolution of the king, and were divided in their patriotism and their allegiance.*

The sultan of Damascus, a relation of the murdered Egyptian lord, solicited the aid of Louis to revenge the murder, and stimulated his virtue by the promise, that, in the event of

* Joinville, 188, 191. On every affection of the mind, the warriors in Villehardouin and Joinville shed tears. They were as great weepers as Homer's heroes.

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victory, he would deliver to the Christians the city of Jerusalem.* The king replied, that he would send to the Mamelukes at Damietta, to know whether they would repair their violations of the treaty, and that, in case of their refusal, he would assist the sultan of Damascus. On intelligence of this negociation, the people of Damietta restored to the king all the knights and common soldiers whom they had detained in prison. Louis wisely profited by circumstances, and declared that he would not enter upon a truce with the Egyptians, until they had absolved him from the payment of the remaining moiety of the ransom, and restored to him the heads of those Christians on the walls of Cairo, who had fallen in the battle near Massoura, and such Christian children as they had forced to become Muselmans.† The emirs and Mamelukes complied with these terms, and, on condition of the alliance of the French king, they engaged to deliver up to him Jerusalem itself. Louis remained a year at Cesarea, and rebuilt its houses and repaired its fortifications.‡

New hopes by reason of the Moslem dissensions.

* Joinville, 193.

† Joinville, 198, 199, 216.

‡ The military force of Louis did not much exceed four thousand men. The king's two brothers returned to Europe; and, in order to retain a respectable army, Louis was obliged to be liberal of his treasure. Thirty-five knights banneret of

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Jaffa was the next object of his care, and, in the course of time, he inclosed it with walls, and made its strength equal to its importance. The numerous forces of the sultan of Damascus prevented the Mamelukes from joining the king; but his allies returned to him the heads of the slain, and also the children that he had demanded. The war between the Egyptians and Syrians raged with dreadful violence, and with various success, till they buried their mutual animosities in the common detestation of the French. By the mediation of the caliph, the Muselmans made peace; Egypt and Jerusalem were to belong to the Mamelukes; and the countries beyond the Jordan to the sultan of Syria.* But the united infidels did not pursue

Those dissensions quelled.

Champagne were killed in various battles of Egypt. The king retained the remainder of Joinville's force, during six months, for two thousand livres. Afterwards, Joinville declared that "he would not take any more of his money, but would offer "other terms; which were, that Louis would promise never to "fly into a passion for any thing which might be said to him "by the seneschal, who, in return, would engage to keep his "temper whenever any of his requests were refused." Joinville, 192, 205. The general rates of pay in the French army were, for a knight banneret, twenty sous tournois a-day; that of knights bachelors and esquires banneret, ten sous each; that of simple esquires, five sous; of gentlemen on foot, two sous; of serjeants on foot, twelve deniers; and of cross-bow men, fifteen deniers. Du Cange, Diss. ix.

* De Guignes, livre xxi. Joinville, 212.

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their schemes of destruction with that vigour and ability which had distinguished the fierce and dreadful movements of Noureddin and Saladin. They might have swept the feeble and exhausted Christians from the shores of Palestine; but they merely ravaged the country round Acre, and then proceeded to Sajecte, in whose strong castle were Louis and most of the army. The blood and property of the citizens satisfied the Moslems, who departed without trying the valour of the French in garrison.

Failure of the crusade.

Perpetual disappointment gradually desiccated the spring of hope, and the king turned his mind to France. His friends marked his change of purpose,* and news from Europe of the death of his royal mother, the regent of his

* Joinville relates a story somewhat amusing, expressive of his own good-humoured cunning. Previously to the arrival of the news mentioned in the text, he went on a pilgrimage to our lady of Tortosa, who performed all manner of miracles, except when she was busy in assisting the French king. Louis had desired the seneschal to purchase some camlets, which he wished to give the Cordeliers in France. Joinville fancied that this wish proceeded from an inclination to return, but he kept his conjectures in his own bosom, and, when the purchase had been made, and some knights asked him what he meant to do with so many camlets, the old soldier satisfied inquiry, by professing that he should turn merchant, and should endeavour to gain a profit by the resale of the camlets.

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kingdom, made him openly proclaim his resolution to return. The patriarch and barons of Palestine offered him their humble thanks and praise for the great good and honour he had conferred on the holy land; and, shortly after Easter, he embarked for the west. Louis IX. gathered no new laurels in his transmarine expedition. All that was great and chivalric in France had been spread out in martial array, and had met with little else than discomfiture and defeat.*

Louis returns to France, April 1254.

* In the course of Louis's stay at Jaffa, the sultan of Damascus sent him permission to visit Jerusalem. The king ardently desired to behold the sacred places, and was slow in allowing considerations of policy to conquer selfish feelings. The reason which dissuaded him from the journey, was, that if he should perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem without delivering it from the enemies of God, every subsequent crusading monarch would think a similar proceeding sufficient, and would not consider himself obliged to perform more than what the king of France had done. St. Louis was also reminded, that Richard Cœur de Lion refused to behold Jerusalem as a pilgrim.

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CHAP. VII.

THE LAST CRUSADE, AND LOSS OF THE HOLY LAND.

State of Palestine after the eighth Crusade—War between the Templars and Hospitallers—Progress of the Mamelukes of Egypt in the conquest of Palestine—History of Antioch—Antioch taken by the Egyptians—Louis IX. prepares for his second Crusade—Crusading spirit in England—Departure of Louis from France for the holy land—He disembarks near Tunis—His death—Prince Edward leaves England—He passes the winter in Sicily—Arrives at Acre—Captures Nazareth—His Cruelty—Distresses of the English—Edward wounded by an assassin—He makes peace with the Mamelukes, and returns to England—Vain effort of Gregory IX. for a new Crusade—Council of Lyons—Further progress of the Mamelukes—Last Siege of Acre, and total loss of Palestine.

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1255, &c. State of Palestine.

ALL the blood which had been shed, and all the treasure which France had lavished for the Crusade of St. Louis, did not long preserve the Christians in Palestine from the hostilities of the Muselmans, and as no new succours arrived

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from Europe, the barons and knights were compelled, in some cases, to keep within the shelter of their fortresses, and at other times to make disadvantageous treaties with their foe.* Although it was evident that nothing but unanimity in the holy warriors could preserve the remnants of the kingdom of Godfrey of Bouillon from annihilation, yet the Christians wasted their strength in party collisions, instead of watching the politics of the Saracenian courts, and gathering those branches of power which their enemies,† in their ambitious feuds, con-

* M. Paris, 785.

† The divisions among the Latins in Palestine were a fruitful source of public calamity. They are noticed by all the writers contemporaneous with, and immediately subsequent to, the Crusades, as productive of the ruin of the kingdom. The general opinion of Europe on the history of Palestine, is expressed by Petrarch:—

Poi venía solo il buon duce Goffrido,
Che fè l' impresa santa, e i passi giusti.
Questo, di ch' io mi sdegno e 'ndarno grido,
Fece in Gierusalem con le sui mani
Il mal guardato e già negletto nido.
Ite, superbi e miseri Christiani,
Consumando l' un l' altro, e non vi caglia,
Che 'l Sepolcro di Cristo è in man di cani.

Del Trionfo della Fama, cap. ii.

The twenty-third sonnet and the second canzonet of Petrarch are fine pieces of poetry, and interesting proofs of the author's crusading zeal.

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tinually broke from the tree of Islamism. The haughty republicans of Italy would never enter into any common bond of union, and the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese had frequent hostile encounters, respecting the possession of churches to which each nation asserted her claims.* The two great military orders only forgot their mutual jealousies, when in the field they were opposed to the Muselmans; but, in every interval of peace, the knights, incapable of any exertions or thoughts but those which war inspired, gratified their arrogance and restlessness in disputes touching military prowess and precedency. As reason did not give birth to those altercations, she did not controul the decision. The jealousy and rancour of the Hospitalians and red-cross knights were frequently aggravated by irregular skirmishes, and, at length, the kindred squadrons met in a general engagement. Victory sat on the helms of the cavaliers of St. John: few prisoners were taken, and scarcely a Templar escaped alive.† But new companions from Europe gradually filled the places of the deceased brethren. New

War between the Templars and Hospitallers.

1259.

* Chron. F. Pipini in Muratori, Scrip. Rer. Ital. ix. 712. James de Vitry marks with severity the money-getting and jealous passions of the Italian republicans. P. 1089 in Bongarsius.

† M. Paris, 846.

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occasions demanded all their valour and skill, and civil discord was lost amidst the more honourable war with the real enemies of the state. A blood-stained revolution in Egypt had placed the Mameluke chief, Bibars, or Bendocdar,* on the throne of that country; he was well disposed to lead his savage Mamelukes against the Christians; and his ferocity did not want the excitement which the military orders gave it, of refusing, contrary to treaty, to deliver to him some Muhammedan prisoners.†

Progress of the Mamelukes. 1263.

His soldiers, as savage as the Korasmians, demolished the churches of Nazareth, and the fortress and church on Mount Thabor. They made their way to the gates of Acre with fire and sword, and such of the Christians as were immediately slain were not so much objects of compassion as the prisoners, on whom the Turks inflicted every description of torture, in order to force a change of religion. Though Acre itself was saved for a few years, yet Cesarea did not escape the wide spreading calamities.‡ Through these dreadful scenes the military orders fought

1265-6.

with their usual heroism, and in the sieges of

* The full name of this gentleman was Al Malek al Dhaker Rokneddin Abulfeth Bibars al Alai al Bundokdari al Salehi.

† De Guignes, livre xxi.

‡ Sanutus, lib. iii. c. vii.

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the strong fortresses of Azotus and Saphoury, the spirit of devotion which they manifested to their cause had never been equalled. The small force of ninety Hospitallers held possession of the former of these places. The number gradually diminished on each renewed assault, and when the Turks mounted the breach, they trampled on the bodies of the last of the knights. After ravaging the neighbourhood of Acre, Tyre, and Tripoli, the Egyptians laid siege to the fortress of Saphoury. The fall of that place was inevitable, and the prior of the Templars therefore agreed to capitulate, and, on the surrender being made, the knights and garrison, altogether amounting to six hundred men, were to be conducted to the next Christian town. The sultan was invested with lordship over the fortress, but he violated the conditions of the surrender, and left the knights only a few hours to determine on the alternative of death or conversion to Islamism. The Prior and two Franciscan monks were earnest in fixing the faith of the religious cavaliers, and, at the appointed time for the declaration of their choice, they unanimously avowed their determination to die rather than incur the dishonour of apostacy. The decree for the slaughter of the Templars

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History of Antioch. A D. 1206—1268.

was pronounced and executed; and the three preachers of martyrdom were flayed alive.*

Before we continue our view of the calamities of Palestine, a retrospect must be taken of a principality whose fate was closely connected with that of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Bohemond IV. continued to be the reputed Lord of Antioch, from the year 1206† till the time of his death in 1233. But for many years during this interval he did not exercise any royal authority, for he was a tyrant, and was both hated by the people and excommunicated by the clergy. His nephew Rupin, the right heir, was aided by the papal legate, who was present at the great siege of Damietta, in the year 1218, and made several attempts to recover his thrones of Antioch and Tripoli; but he died some years before Bohemond, in a prison at Tarsus, into which he had been cast by Constantius, nominal regent of Antioch, and guardian of Isabella, daughter and successor of Livon, king of Armenia. From Bohemond IV. and his first wife Plaisance, daughter of the lord of Gabala, Bohemond V. descended. To him succeeded Bohemond VI. It does not appear that the family of the Bohemonds were entire masters of the principality and county from the year 1233 till their

* De Guignes, livre xxi. † See page 213, ante.

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absorption in the Egyptian power. It is certain that Bohemond V. was reigning over Antioch and Tripoli in 1244, when he became tributary to the Korasmians: and that in 1253 Bohemond VI. was made a knight by St. Louis, and was considered lawful prince of Antioch, though he was a minor, and under his mother's tutelage. But it is equally certain that at times, from 1233 to 1288, Frederic* and Conrad, a son and grandson of the emperor Frederic II. had possession of all or part of the states of Antioch and Tripoli.†

We may now resume the thread of the general history. Jaffa and the castle of Beaufort were the Mameluke conquests which succeeded in

* Prince Frederic was the illegitimate son of the emperor Frederic II. Whether the mother of this prince was an Armenian or Antiochean princess, is very doubtful. If the former, she might have been the daughter of Haiton, king of Armenia; but if the latter, it is almost impossible to conjecture her family history. Prince Frederic was frequently called Prince of Antioch, a title he would have claimed in either case, for the lordship over Antioch was boasted of by the Bohemonds, and also by the Armenian chiefs. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. 17, ch. 6. Henninges, Theatrum Genealogicum, tom. iv. pars 1. p. 47, pars 3. p. 462. Haiton, Hist. Orient. Appendix.

† A very thick cloud hangs over the history of Antioch; and few writers have taken the trouble of endeavouring to pierce it. See M. Damiani's Essay on the Vicissitudes of Antioch during the time of the Crusades, in the fifteenth volume of the Archæologia.

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point of time to those of Azotus and Saphoury.* The tempest at length burst upon the state of Antioch; and the city of that principality yielded without even the formality of a siege.† The reproach of treachery is alternately cast upon the patriarch and the inhabitants; and heavy is the disgrace of causing an event which occasioned the destruction of forty thousand, and the captivity of one hundred thousand Christians. Bibars ravaged the country round Tyre; but being equally religious as cruel, he gave the Franks a respite by pilgrimizing to the holy places in Arabia. He soon however resumed his fell purpose of exterminating the Christians; Laodicea and many other places submitted to him; and the knights of St. John gained immortal honour by their brave, though fruitless, defence of the fortress of Karac, between Arca and Tortosa.‡ The prince of Tripoli preserved his title by the sacrifice of half of his territory. Acre was saved in consequence of the reported succour of the king of Cyprus. Bibars returned to Cairo, hastily fitted out a fleet for the conquest of the island, which was without the presence of its monarch. But his ships were lost

A.D. 1268. Antioch taken by the Egyptians.

* Sanutus, lib. 3, pars 12. c. 6, 8. Plagon, p. 737.

† Sanutus, lib. 3, pars 12. c. 9. De Guignes, vol. iv. p. 143.

‡ Sanutus, lib. 3, pars 14. cap. 2.

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in a tempest; Cairo was overwhelmed with sorrow, and none of his efforts could re-establish affairs.*

1268. Louis IX. prepares for his second Crusade.

Before the news of the capture of Antioch reached Europe, the people of the west had contemplated a new Crusade. St. Louis thought that his first expedition to the holy land brought more shame on France than good on the Christian cause; and he feared that his own personal fame had withered. The pope encouraged his inclinations for a new attempt; and, in a general assembly of prelates, nobility, and people, at Paris, the king exhorted his hearers to revenge the wrongs which Christ had so long suffered.† England was at that time in a state of repose, and her martial youth were impatient of indolence. The king held a parliament at North- 1268. ampton; the legate of the pope acquainted the assembly of the necessity of preserving what yet remained to the Christians of the holy land; and prince Edward, with the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, received the holy ensign from his hands.‡ The assumption of the cross by

* De Guignes, livre 21.

† William of Nangis, in the fifth volume of Du Chesne, p. 384, &c. After the king's return from Palestine, he was more simple in his dress than ever; and he gave up the luxuries of gilt spurs and stirrups. Joinville, 233.

‡ Waverley in Gale, vol. ii. p. 225.

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1269.

the heir of the English throne spread great joy throughout France. He was invited to Paris; the co-operation of the English and French was determined upon; and Louis lent his youthful ally thirty thousand marks on the security of the customs of Bourdeaux.* The prelates and clergy of England agreed to contribute a tenth of their revenues for three years; and, by a parliamentary ordinance, a twentieth part was taken from the corn and moveables which the laity possessed at Michaelmas. A Crusade had for many years been popular in England. During the first expedition of St. Louis, and soon after the departure of William Longsword, Henry III. engaged to fight under the sacred banners. But he was slow in preparing to go to the holy land; and the public murmured the suspicion that he had only assumed the cross as a pretence for collecting money. Avowing that duty to a heavenly master was paramount to allegiance to a king of earth, they who had taken the badge of fellowship met at Bermondsey, near London, in order to unite their counsels and resolves. It was found that five hundred knights had been crossed; and the number of inferior people could not be counted. The holy warriors resolved to commence their voyage at Midsum-

Crusading spirit in England.

* Wikes, 290. Cont. of M. Paris, 857. See the treaty between Louis and Edward, in Rymer, i. 481.

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mer; but the king had anticipated all their proceedings; and he declared that if they dared to march without him, the thunders of the Vatican should be hurled against them. Some people submitted to, and others clamoured at this menace of papal interference; and the religious ardour of the most enthusiastic was cooled by the king's delays, and the news of the disastrous events in Egypt. The pope and king were deaf to the reproaches of the French nation, that indifference to Christianity could be the only motive for obstructing the pious wishes of the English people.* The king's poverty was ever the alleged cause of his remissness; and two years after his dissolution of the association of

* M. Paris, 670, 671. "About this time (1250) many thou-
" sands of the English were resolved for the holy war, and
" would needs have been gone, had not the king strictly
" guarded his ports, and kept his kingdom from running away
" out of doors. The king promised he would go with them;
" and hereupon got a mass of money from them for this jour-
" ney. Some say that he never intended it, and that this only
" was a trick to stroke the skittish cow to get down her milk.
" His stubborn subjects said that they would tarry for his com-
" pany till Midsummer, and no longer. Thus they weighed
" out their obedience with their own scales: and the king stood
" to their allowance. But hearing of the ill success of the
" French, both prince and people altered their resolution, who
" had come too late to help the French in their distress, and too
" soon to bring themselves into the same misery." Fuller, History of the Holy War, book iv. ch. 17.

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English knights, he endeavoured to extort money from the clergy, on the pretence of a journey to Syria. But they resisted his demands; reproached him with his avarice and violation of oaths; and warned him of the fate of St. Louis, who was at that time in the hands of the Saracens.* But the military spirit of the people rose above the calculating duplicity of the king; and though he disregarded, yet they were deeply affected by the appeals and entreaties which the clergy, barons, and military orders made to him to perform his engagement with God.†

A.D. 1270. Departure of Louis IX.

Anticipating the laurel of victory, or the crown of martyrdom, St. Louis spread his sails for the holy land.‡ Sixty thousand soldiers were animated by their monarch's feelings of religious and military ardour: and we may remark among the leaders the lords of Flanders, Champagne, and Brittany, whose ancestors had

* M. Paris, 717, 720, &c.

† Rymer, i. 308, 321. In 1252, however, Henry wrote to the three great military orders, that he would go to the holy land at the end of four years; i. 282.

‡ Like the two preceding Crusades, the ninth and last great transmarine expedition was partly composed of Englishmen and partly of Frenchmen. My authorities are Sanutus, William de Nangis, Matthew of Westminster, Wikes, the chronicle of Mailros, Hemingford, the continuation of Matthew Paris, and Abulfeda.

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so often distinguished themselves for martial spirit and ability in fighting the battles of the cross. The fleet was driven into Sardinia; and at that place a great change was made in the plan of operations. The king of Tunis had formerly sent ambassadors to Louis, and expressed a wish to embrace the only true religion. His Christian ally thought that the presence of a large army would prevent the Moors from offering any violence to the inclinations of the king. Northern Africa had formerly paid a pecuniary tribute to the sovereign of the two Sicilies; and Charles of Anjou, the reigning monarch, concealing his selfishness under the garb of piety and justice, strongly urged his brother to restore the rights of Christendom. The soldiers too, now more greedy of plunder and revenge than zealous in bigotry, entreated to be led to Tunis, a city that popular rumour had described as abounding in wealth, and which, as the faithful friend of Egypt, had long heen hated by Europe. The subjugation of the Muselmans in Africa was declared to be a necessary preliminary to successes in Palestine; the French soon reached the first object of their hopes; and the camp and town of Carthage* He lands near Tunis.

* Ce n'est pas un des moindres exemples des jeux de la fortune, que les ruines de Carthage aient vu mourir un roi chrétien qui venait combattre des Muselmans dans un pays où

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were the earliest rewards of victory. But every sanguine expectation was damped when a pestilential disease spread its ravages through the Christian ranks. The great stay of the Crusades fell. During his illness Louis ceased not to praise God, and supplicate for the people whom he had brought with him. He became speechless; he then gesticulated what he could not utter: he perpetually made signs of the cross, stretched himself on the floor, which was covered with ashes; and in the final struggle of nature he turned his eyes to Heaven, and exclaimed, "I will enter thy house, I will worship in thy "sanctuary."*

Death of Louis IX. August 1270.

Prince Edward leaves England.

Before this calamitous event prince Edward, Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, four earls, four barons, and the English division, had not only arrived in Africa, but had left it for Sicily, in despair that their French compeers would ever march to Palestine.† The defection of his allies would have justified prince Edward

Didon avait apporté les Dieux des Syriens. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, ch. 58.

* Nangis, p. 386-389, 393. Epistle of the bishop of Thunes, an eye-witness, Martenne, vi. 1218. Sanutus, lib. 3. pars 12. cap. 10.

‡ Annals of Waverley, in Gale, vol. ii. p. 225. Continuation of M. Paris, 859. Hemingford, iii. 589.

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in returning to England: but he embraced the prospect of undivided glory; and he swore that although all his soldiers should desert him, he would go to Acre attended only by his groom. The winter season was passed by him in military exercises, and in the various occupations of chivalry, and in the following spring he turned his prow up the Mediterranean, and arrived at Acre. The whole of the forces of Edward did not exceed one thousand men. But the prowess of the Plantagenets was dreaded by the Muselmans; and they feared that another Cœur de Lion was come to scourge them. The sultan of Egypt departed from the vicinity of Acre, which he had devastated with fire and sword. All the Latins in Palestine crowded round the banner of the English prince; and he took the field at the head of seven thousand men. The city of Nazareth was redeemed; and he surprised and defeated a large Turkish force. Edward was brave and provident, and owed his success as much to his skill as to his courage. But he was not less cruel than any preceding hero of the holy wars; and he gave a dreadful earnest of that savage implacability which Scotland afterwards so often rued. The barbarities which stained the entry of the Christians into Jerusalem, two centuries before, were re-

Passes the winter in Sicily.

April 1271.

Arrives at Acre.

Captures Nazareth.

His cruelties.

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peated in a smaller theatre of cruelty in Nazareth.*

But the march of victory was closed, for the English soldiers were parched by the rays of a Syrian sun, and their leader was extended on the bed of sickness. The governor of Jaffa was the apparent friend of Edward, but the sultan's threat of degradation, if further commerce were held with an infidel, changed courtesy into malignity, and his brutal zeal for the display of his loyalty must have satisfied even the suspicious bosom of a tyrant. He hired the dagger of one of those assassins who had escaped the proscription which the Tartars, mercifully for the world, had made of the followers of the old man of the mountain. The wretch, as the bearer of letters, was admitted into the chamber of his intended victim. The purpose of his errand being accomplished, he drew a poniard from the concealment of his belt, and aimed a blow at Edward's breast. After receiving two or three wounds, the vigorous prince threw the villain on the floor, and stabbed him to the heart.† The dagger had been steeped in poison,

* Hemingford, iii. 590. Chronicle of Mailros, i. 241.

† After alluding to Prince Edward's Exploits in the holy land, Ben Jonson says,

" For which his temper'd zeal, see Providence
" Flying in here, and arms him with defence

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and for some hours Edward's fate was involved in danger. The fairy hand of fiction has ascribed his convalescence to one of that sex, whose generous affections are never restrained by the chilling calculations of selfishness. But the stern pen of history has recorded that his restoration to health was the simple result of surgical skill, co-operating with the salient spring of a vigorous frame.* The English soldiers

" Against th' assassinate made upon his life
" By a foul wretch, from whom he wrests the knife,
" And gives him a just hire; which yet remains
" A warning to great chiefs, to keep their trains
" About them still, and not, to privacy
" Admit a hand, that may use treachery."
Prince Henry's Barriers. Works, vii. 169.

* Chronicon F. Pipini in Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. vol. 7, p. 705, 714. Matthew of Westminster, p. 400. ed. Franc. 1601. P. Langtoft's Chron. p. 227. Wikes, p. 97. Hemingford, p. 591. Contin. of Matthew Paris, 859. The story of Eleanora's sucking the venom from her husband's wound would always have been considered a fable, if that respectable writer, Camden, (vol. 2, p. 103, Gough's edit.) had not mentioned it as an historical fact. Camden took it from a Spanish historian, who wrote two hundred years after the event. Hemingford expressly says, that the grand master of the Templars immediately sent his royal friend some precious drugs to stop the progress of the venom. A mortification was however apprehended, and an English physician undertook to cut out the bad part. The prince ordered Edward and John de Vesey to lead Eleanor out of the room, and those knights, not very gentle to the lady's

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burned to revenge on the Turkish people the dastardly act of the assassin. But Edward checked them, and forgot his own injuries when he reflected, that were he to sanction murder, the humble unarmed pilgrims could never claim the protection of the Saracens. After the English prince had been fourteen months in Acre, the sultan of Egypt offered peace, for wars with the Moslem powers engrossed his military strength. Edward gladly seized this occasion of leaving the holy land, for his force was too small for the achievement of great actions, and

He makes peace with the Mamelukes.

feelings, told her it was better that she should shed a few tears, than that England should for ever mourn. Hemingford, p. 501. "It is storied," says Fuller, "how Eleanor, his lady, sucked all "the poison out of his wounds without doing any harm to her-"self. So sovereign a remedy is a woman's tongue, anointed "with the virtue of loving affection. Pity it is that so pretty "a story should not be true (with all the miracles in love's "legends), and sure he shall get himself no credit, who under-"taketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the "sex. Yet can it not stand with what others have written." Fuller's Holy War, book 4, ch. 29. The story most likely took its rise from the circumstance that in the middle ages chirurgical knowledge was an elegant female accomplishment. The fair practisers of leechcraft were of course in high repute, "and it "is probable that their attentive and compassionate solicitude "may have frequently proved more efficacious than the nos-"trums of the faculty, even when assisted by the magical "power of amulets, or the more orthodox energy of holy "water."

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his father had implored his return to England.* The hostile commanders signed accordingly a treaty for a ten years' suspension of arms: the lords of Syria disarrayed their warlike front, and the English soldiers quitted Palestine for their native country. CHAP. VII. July 1272.

At the time when Palestine began to breathe from the horrors of war, hope once more raised her head in consequence of the election to the chair of St. Peter falling upon Theobald, archdeacon of Liege. The choice of the cardinals was made known to him while he was in Palestine. He had witnessed with sorrow and indignation the dreadful extremities to which the Christians were reduced, and in the tumult of the passions his reason did not allow him to measure objects by their practicability. He impatiently transported himself to Italy, and so ardent was his zeal that his endeavours for a Crusade even preceded his introduction to the Pontificate. The trumpet of war again was heard among the nations. The blast was however only faintly echoed. The republics of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, and the city of Marseilles, agreed to furnish a few gallies, and twenty-five thousand marks of silver were obtained from Philip the Hardy on mortgage of the Templars' Vain effort of Gregory IX. for new Crusades.

* See the letter in Rymer, vol. 1, p. 487, new edition.

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estates in France. The masters of the military friars and red cross knights went to Rome, and convinced their papal friend that these succours would be too inconsiderable to enable the Christians to drive the infidels out of Palestine. Again was the Christian world assembled, and the council of Lyons decreed the obligation of a new Crusade; that the clergy should pay a tenth of their revenues for six years, and that boxes should be placed in churches for the voluntary oblations of the laity. Rodolph of Habsburgh was wise in uniting himself with the pope, and gaining papal support in his new dignity of emperor of Germany. Philip the French king, Michael Palæologus, and Charles, at once count of Anjou and king of the two Sicilies, also embraced the cause. Philip inherited the piety of his father; and Michael, who, thirteen years before, had taken Constantinople from the Franks, was eager to embrace any occasion of obtaining the favour of the western princes. Charles pretended anxiety to repair the disasters which the imprudence of his brother the count of Artois, during the first Crusade of St. Louis, had occasioned, and he thought that the duties of a sovereign devolved upon him, because in the council of Lyons, Mary princess of Antioch, daughter of Bohemond IV. ceded to him her

May, 1274. Council of Lyons.

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rights over the kingdom of Jerusalem.* But Pope Gregory died within two years after the sitting of the Lyonese council, and all thoughts of a Crusade were dropped when the life of its great promoter closed. Palestine however was at peace, and the Christians therefore indulged their vanity, and engaged their passions, in disputing about the pageantry of power. Hugh III. king of Cyprus, a lineal descendant of the princess Alice, had been crowned king of Jerusalem at Tyre, a short time before the death of Conradin, the last unhappy descendant of that house of Germany, of which three emperors had supported and adorned holy wars. The Templars befriended Charles of Anjou, but the Hospitallers, with more virtue than was generally

* Giannone (l. 20. c. 2. s. 1.) is incorrect in stating that the princess ceded her rights to Antioch. The Angevine kings of Naples and Sicily founded their title to the crown of Jerusalem on the marriage of Frederic with Violante, and on the cession mentioned in the text. But when Conradin died, the race of the Suabian dynasty became extinct, and the title to the throne of Jerusalem went to the princess Alice (whom we have already mentioned), the daughter of Henry count of Champagne and Isabella. The princess Alice carried her rights into the family of the kings of Cyprus, and those rights had precedence of the claims of the princess Mary, the daughter of the youngest daughter of Isabella. In short, the family of Anjou had no juster claim to the throne of Jerusalem than they had to the throne of the two Sicilies.

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shewn, declared that they could not fight against any Christian prince, and contended that the claims for succession to the kingdom ought to be deferred till the kingdom itself should be recovered. In the fourth year of the peace which the valiant prince Edward had gained for Palestine, the Mameluke chief and king, Bendoctar, died. In the reign of Keladun, the third sultan in succession to him who had torn so many cities from the Christians, the war was

A.D.1280. renewed. The restless Franks in the fortress of Margat plundered and insulted some inoffensive Muselman traders; an emir of Egypt made a gallant, but fruitless, attempt to revenge this violation of the law of nations, and his master swore by God and his prophet that he would avenge the wrong; and after a few years of dreadful preparation the living cloud of war burst upon the Christians. Margat was captured; but so brave had been the resistance of the knights that it procured them a safe and honourable retreat to the neighbouring town of Tortosa, and the sultan, dreading even the

1287. possibility of future opposition, razed the fortress.

1289. Progress of the Mamelukes.

With rapid and certain steps the power of the Latins approached its fatal termination. The city of Tripoli, that last remaining satellite of the kingdom of Jerusalem, was taken; its

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houses were burnt, its works dismantled, and its people murdered or retained in slavery. Acre once more became the principal possession of the Christians. The sultan concluded a treaty of peace with Henry II. of Cyprus, who had driven away the lieutenants and soldiers of Charles, and had been acknowledged king of Jerusalem.* Nothing but total ruin could quench the heroic spirit of those cavaliers, who thought that to fall in the ensanguined field was the height of glory and virtue. Undismayed by the victories of the sultan, the grand master of the military friars took the occasion of the cessation of hostilities, and crossed the Mediterranean, in order to infuse his martial spirit into the people of the west. Pope Nicholas IV. heard with coldness the dismal tale. He declined to open the treasury of St. Peter for the advancement of the Christian cause, and he gave his noble friend only fifteen hundred men, the off-scourings of Italy. Circular letters were sent to the different European potentates, but the light which once shone upon the holy cause had waned; cavaliers no longer thronged round the cross, and the grand master was compelled

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars 12. cap. xx. De Guignes, livre xxi. In the year 1287, two years before the loss of Tripoli, Bohemond VII., count of that place, died.

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to return to Palestine, accompanied only by his Italian banditti. When they arrived at Acre, the city was in the greatest state of turbulence. Within its walls were crowded the wretched remains of those kingdoms and principalities which had been won by the blood of the west. Every distinct people occupied a particular division, and, in the assertion of individual privileges, general interests were forgotten.* The Mamelukes of Egypt regarded, with an eye

* Old Fuller has given a faithful picture of the state of Acre. "In it were some of all countries; so that he who had lost his "nation, might find it here. Most of them had several courts "to decide their causes in, and the plenty of judges caused "the scarcity of justice, malefactors appealing to a trial in the "courts of their own country. It was sufficient innocence for any "offender in the Venetian court that he was a Venetian. Per- "sonal acts were entitled national, and made the cause of the "country. Outrages were every where practised, no where "punished; as if to spare divine revenge the pains of over- "taking them, they would go forth and meet it. At the same "time, they were in fitters about prosecuting their titles to this "city, no fewer than the Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, Floren- "tines, the kings of Cyprus and Sicily, the agents for the "kings of France and England, the princes of Tripoli and "Antioch, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the masters of the "Templars and Hospitallers, and (whom I should have named "first) the legate of his Holiness, all at once, with much "violence, contending about the right of nothing, the title to "the kingdom of Jerusalem, and command of this city, like "bees, making the greatest humming and buzzing in the hive "when now ready to leave it." Holy War, book iv. ch. xxxii.

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of fanatical hatred and rapacious ambition, the shelter of the Christian powers. The principles of Islamism would have justified the sultan in making war, but the criminal conduct of his foe gave him secular reasons for commencing hostilities. Acre was crowded with people beyond its means of support, and some of the wretched inhabitants robbed and tortured the Muselman merchants who occasionally visited the city with provisions, under the protection of the acknowledged friendship which existed between the Egyptians and the Christians.* No redress was made for this violation of justice. The sultan died before his preparations of vengeance were completed; but his son Khatil was not less anxious than his father to exterminate the infidel miscreants. Nearly two hundred thousand Mameluke Tartars of Egypt marched into Palestine, and encamped before Acre, exactly on the same ground upon which a century before assembled Europe had stood. To avoid the dreadful consequences of war, a large part of the population embarked in the numerous vessels which at that time rode at anchor in the harbour, and the defence of the place was left to the care of about twelve thousand soldiers, chiefly the knights and serjeants of the military

April 1291. Last siege of Acre.

* G. Villani.

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orders. The garrison was speedily reinforced by a few hundred men, headed by Henry II. of Cyprus, who boasted the ideal title of king of Jerusalem. But there was no magic in the name of royalty, and in this exigent state of affairs, the troops looked for the direction of Peter de Beaujeau, grand master of the Templars. He accepted the charge, and his first action of rejecting the bribes of the sultan inspired the animating conviction, that Acre would never fall in consequence of the treachery of the commander. But the Mamelukes were equal in valour, and superior in discipline, to their foes, and their number was appallingly formidable. Unable to defend, with equal effect, the circuit of walls, the Christians beheld their towers yielding to the mines and battering rams. The "cursed tower" fell; the king, whose station was at that part of the fortifications, requested the Teutonick knights to relieve his attenuated band, and he promised to return to his post on the following morning. But the pusillanimous monarch fled to the port, and seizing a few ships, sailed to Cyprus. With the morn, the Mamelukes renewed the attack. Most of the German cavaliers died upon the breach; the others slowly left the walls, and the firmness of their little phalanx checked the foe. The Hospitalians chased back the Mame-

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lukes, and even forced them headlong into the ditch. But the sultan was prodigal of blood. His battalions marched to the breach, and in a few hours the entry into the city was repeatedly lost and won by the Christians and infidels.

While Acre was bleeding with these vicissitudes, the master of the Hospitalians and his knights secretly left the city, made a short circuit, and rushed into the enemy's camp. The sultan, a skilful soldier, was not surprised, and the knights were repulsed. The chief of the military friars received the melancholy news, that the grand master* of the Templars had been killed by a poisoned arrow; that most of his valiant soldiers had been slain, and that the city had fallen. Under the cover of a few cross-bow men, the knights of St. John, seven only were the remnant, embarked, and left for ever the scene of their virtue and their valour. Their brethren in arms, the Templars, were equally brave, and their fate was equally disastrous. Their resistance was so firm, that the sultan was compelled to promise them a free and honourable departure. But the insults of some low

* The grand master of the Templars receives high praise from G. Villani. The hero every night repaired the breaches in the "cursed tower;" but he was at length killed by the enemy, and, in consequence of his death, confusion again arose, and the city was lost. G. Villani, lib. vii. c. 144.

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Saracenian people irritated the cavaliers: the sword again was drawn, and such of the Templars as survived the conflict, fled into the interior country. The unarmed population of Acre hurried to the coast; but the elements co-operated with the devastating spirit of the Turks, and the tempestuous waves refused shelter to the fugitives. While gnashing with despair, the people beheld their town in flames. The ruthless hand of death fell upon them, and the sea-shore of Palestine again drank torrents of Christian blood.

Total loss of the holy land.

Tyre, Beritus, and other towns, were awed into submission. The Turks swept all Palestine, and murdered or imprisoned all the Christians who could not fly to Cyprus. The memory of the Templars is embalmed, for the last struggle for the holy land was made by the red-cross knights. Such as escaped from Acre went to Sis, in Armenia. A Muselman general drove them to the island of Tortosa, whence they escaped to Cyprus, and the cry of religious war no longer rung through Palestine.*

* Sanutus, lib. iii. pars xii. ch. xxii. xxiii. The history of the siege of Acre, by a contemporary, in Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. vol. i. p. 782. De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, &c. livre xxi. Lusignano, Istoria dell' Isola di Cipro, p. 55, &c. Palestine was not more celebrated for virtue at the close of the Crusades, than at any period during their continuance. Speak-

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ing of the loss of Acre, G. Villani says, " Et questo pericolo " non fu sanza grande et giusto giudicio di Dio, che quella " città era piena di più peccatori huomini, e femine d' ogni " dissoluto pecca'o, che terra, che fasse tra' Cristiani." G. Villani, lib. vii. c. 144, p. 337, vol. i.

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CHAP. VIII.

EXTINCTION OF THE CRUSADING SPIRIT. FATE OF THE MILITARY ORDERS.

State of Europe at the close of the Crusades—Reasons of the ceasing of Crusades—Last appearances of the crusading spirit—King Henry IV. of England—Harry Monmouth—Fate of the military orders—The Teutonick knights—The knights of St. Lazarus—Knights of St. John—Imprisonment of the Templars in France—Proceedings against the Templars at Paris—Process against the Templars in England—In Germany—In Italy—Council at Vienne—The order suppressed—Confiscation of its estates—Execution of the grand master—Innocence of the Templars—Causes of the suppression of the order.

CHAP. VIII.

State of Europe at the close of the crusades.

THE loss of the holy land did not fill Europe with those feelings of grief and indignation, which the fall of Jerusalem, an hundred years before, had occasioned. The flame of fanaticism had slowly burnt out. During the thirteenth century, the territorial possessions of the Christians in Palestine gradually diminished; the expeditions and reinforcements were in consequence less vigorous, for, both politically and

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1292.

personally, the people of the west declined in their interest in respect of the affairs of the east. Pope Nicholas IV. endeavoured to revive holy undertakings; but the kings of Europe were deaf or disobedient. After his arrival in England, prince Edward had wished to return to Palestine,* and continue his military career, but he had just entered into the agitated sea of Scottish politics, when Acre fell into the hands of the Egyptians. The delivery of the holy land was, however, a phantom always dear to his imagination, as opening an ample subject for religious and knightly enterprise. In the decline of life he vowed a second expedition, but, finding his dissolution approach, he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds for the equipment and support of a proud corps of knights that were to carry his heart to Palestine.† Philip IV. of France could never be awakened by any summons to religion and honour: and since the extinction of the Suabian family, the succession to the German throne had been so irregular that the emperors were perpetually involved in civil dissensions. The politics of the commercial states of Italy did not accord with religious wars. Pisa had

* Rymer, i. 744, 749, new edition.

† See note EE.

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fallen before Genoa. The conquering town thought not of Syria; for it had enjoyed, since the Greeks had regained Constantinople, the ascendancy of the commerce of the Black Sea. As Genoa was allied to the Grecian emperor, Venice sought the friendship of the Muselmans. The Mamelukes gave their Christian brothers a church, an exchange, and a magazine in Alexandria: and the Venetians carried on the lucrative but disgraceful trade of furnishing the Egyptian market with male and female slaves from Georgia and Circassia.*

* Dante reprobates his contemporaries for joining the Saracens, and also for carrying on trade with the enemies of the Christian name. If Boniface VIII. be the pope alluded to in the following extract, the censure seems misplaced, as he endeavoured to create a new Crusade.

Lo principe de' nuovi Farisei,
Avendo guerra presso a Laterano,
E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,
Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
Ne mercatante in terra di Soldano.

Dell' Inferno, canto 27.

The chief of the new Pharisees meantime,
Waging his warfare near the Lateran,
Not with the Saracens, or Jews, (his foes
All Christians were, nor against Acre one
Had fought, nor traffick'd in the Soldan's land).

Cary's Translation.

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CHAP. VIII.

Reasons of the ceasing of crusades.

From the commencement,* till past the middle of the fourteenth century, the popes repeatedly sounded the charge; but the west in most cases disregarded the summons of its ghostly instructor; and it was evident that although the papal rulers could fan, they could not create the sacred flame. Yet the world did not repent of the miseries it had occasioned, or think that

Villani supports the idea that the mercantile Christians in Egypt aided the Saracens. The instances of treachery alluded to by Dante, I am not able to support by any historical testimony.

* There was some pretence for the preaching of a Crusade by Pope Boniface VIII. in the year 1300. Cazan, the mogul sultan of Persia, resolved to exterminate the Mamlukes of Egypt. He allied himself with the kings of Georgia, Armenia, and Cyprus. In 1299 the fortune of war smiled on the allies; but still the success not being so great as what he had expected, Cazon sent to the pope, soliciting the more powerful alliance of the princes of the west, and agreeing that when Palestine was recovered, it should be retained by the Christians. Philip the Fair and Boniface were in high dispute respecting the limits of ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction; and therefore the project, though warmly patronized by the pope, proved abortive. In the interim, the tide of victory flowed in favour of the Egyptians. Cazan died about the year 1303, just when he had summoned to his side the Christian princes of Cyprus and Armenia, and was about to attack the Mamlukes. I cannot find any mention in Haithon or Abulfeda of the common story, that during the reign of Cazan the Hospitallers and other knights landed on the shores of Palestine, and marched to and occupied Jerusalem for a short time.

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war is nothing but homicide and robbery. It was not that people were less military or less superstitious than before, that they could not be stimulated to new efforts, for arms were as much the delight and occupation of Europe in the fourteenth century, as they had been in the twelfth; and two ages had thickened rather than removed the cloud of corruption which enveloped the pure form of religion. But the idea of the impossibility of ultimate success had long been gradually and silently stealing over Europe; and the world was weary of consuming its blood and treasure in the pursuit of barren honour. The great Crusade in Egypt, in the year 1218, was almost the last occasion when barons and knights, as individuals, led their vassals to the holy war. Great efforts, indeed, were often made by sovereigns; but there were few of those popular expeditions to Palestine, which distinguished the first century and a half of the Crusades. At the time when the loss of the holy land became known in Europe, the people had not recovered from the astonishment and terror with which the victories of Zinghis Khan and his successors had filled the west. Part of Russia, the whole of Poland, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, and all the countries to the eastward of the Adriatic Sea, fell a prey to barbaric desolation. Several of the popes attempted in vain to soften

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the ferocity of these new foes; but the papal legates were dismissed with the tremendous command for Rome herself to submit her neck to the Mogul yoke. The western world knew indeed that most of the Tartars were pagans; and although some sanguine spirits conceived the hope of their powerful union with the Christians against the Muselmans, yet the circumstance of their appearance in Europe as conquerors, created a general dread of foreign nations; and as the Saracenian states, as well as some Christian ones, floated into the abyss, the people dreaded the new enemies whom they should have to encounter in their transmarine expeditions. The impracticability of preserving a Latin dominion in that city in Palestine, which was as dear to the Muselmans as to the Christians, would have had more influence over the latter, if they had been less devoutly fond of pilgrimages,* and if veneration for religious places

* Indeed, after the first Crusade, pilgrimages increased. They were undertaken for purposes of penitence and devotion. The church of St. James in Gallicia, and the tombs of the apostles in Rome, were favourite objects as well as Jerusalem. At the close of the thirteenth century, the festival of the jubilee was instituted, and hundreds of thousands of persons repaired to Rome for the purpose of receiving a general indemnity for past offences. Pilgrimages, as acts of external religion, have ever been defended by writers of the Roman Catholic com-

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had been softened into respectful regard. The idea was also opposed by some of the best feelings of the heart. The connections of kindred and country bound Syria to Europe; and the knights of the west acknowledged the claims which their relations in the holy land urged upon them for succour. By marriage and descent, too, the rights to property in the Asiatic Latin kingdom were often enjoyed by Europeans; and in many respects Palestine resembled a colony of Europe. The continuance of Crusades was therefore a natural circumstance. Hope of success would soon have died away, the healing influence of time would have removed the moral epidemic, if repeated and unsuccessful efforts had been made for the redemption of the holy land. But a fanatical am-

munion. Therefore Milton, in his Limbo of Vanity, says, with contempt and indignation,

"Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek
"In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven."

Paradise Lost, iii. 476.

The passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among the English till late in the reign of Henry VIII. There exists a manuscript "Pylgrymage of Syr Richard Tor-"kynton, Parson of Mulberton, in Norfolk, to Jerusalem, an. "1517." A Fellow of Eton College, towards the close of the fifteenth century, went twice to Jerusalem, and celebrated mass there cum cantu organico. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 427, note.

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bition was fostered by partial success; and when Jerusalem flourished as a Christian city, the pride of possession became the new and master-spring of action; and honour called for the preservation of sanguinary conquests.

It was the policy of the Church of Rome to encourage the spirit of crusading, because they who skilfully administer to public prejudices, become in time masters of the people. In unenlightened days, ecclesiastical influence ended in spiritual tyranny. Until the time of Innocent III. the popes pursued this clear road to power; but, as we have already seen, that aspiring prelate taxed the clergy immediately, and the people indirectly, on pretence of defending Palestine, and from that moment papal influence began to decline. The money enriched the coffers of St. Peter; the world was indignant at this misapplication of its contributions: and as levies were made at the calls of the wishes and wants of the pontiffs, and not always at the times when the cord of sympathy was strung, the people, both clergy and laity, grew weary of the occasion and the pretence of taxation. On another part of the subject, too, the avarice of the popes broke the spirit of crusading. Among the encouragements to the first sacred war was the decree of the council of Clermont, that a journey to the holy land should be as effi-

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cacious to the spiritual health of a pilgrim as all the penances which the church could enjoin: and we have the evidence of so late a writer as Villehardouin,* the great historian of the fifth Crusade, that the promise of this indulgence had, even in his days, considerable influence. But the rapacious clergy thought that that which was granted could be sold, and that money as well as travelling might be taken in exchange for remission of canonical penances. The prelates began this scandalous traffic, but it was soon snatched from their hands by the popes; and the successors of St. Peter made the indulgences of higher value than the humble bishops could pretend to do, by including the remission of punishments in a future world in the pardons which they sold. While the popes levied taxes on pretence of succouring the holy land, it was their policy to encourage the fashion of crusading: but their avarice was also tempted by the profitable sale of indulgences, a traffic which was at once the cause and the effect of the decline of the holy wars.† Indul-

* See page 158, ante.

† The Christians in the holy land frequently complained against the popes for granting indulgences for wars with the Germans and French. They said that the only cross which his Holiness regarded was the one on the French coin. "Le Pape "prodigue des indulgences à ceux qui s'arment contre les Alle-

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gences could be obtained on easier terms than by making long and perilous journeys to Palestine.

Another great cause of ruin to the Crusades had its birth at Rome. Through the whole of the thirteenth century the popes frequently armed the people of the west, both against heretics and against the political enemies of the papal see: and, in each of these cases, the privileges of Crusaders were granted to orthodox warriors. Clement IV. went one step further; for, in the course of the disputes between Charles of Anjou and Manfred for the throne of the two Sicilies, the pope actually diverted from their religious purpose, to his own secular objects, thousands of pilgrims who had been crossed. It is needless to dilate upon the actual injury to Palestine, and the scandal and ridicule which were cast on holy wars, when the soldiers of the cross became the regular army of the court of Rome.

" mands. Ses légats montrent parmi nous leur extrême con-
" voitise; nos croix cédent aux croix empreintes sur les tournois,
" et l'on échange la sainte croisade contre la guerre de Lom-
" bardie; j'aurai donc le courage de dire de nos légats qu'ils
" vendent Dieu, et qu'ils vendent les indulgences pour de
" coupables richesses." Le Chevalier du Temple, cited in Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 75. Introd.

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Freedom from debt and taxes, and other general privileges of Christian warriors, had but little influence in keeping alive the sacred flame. The exemption from taxes was seldom regarded by the civil authorities, and was never permitted to be extended to levies on the land. For crimes, and also for questions relating to landed property, people might be impleaded in secular courts.*

Last appearances of the crusading spirit.

Though Europe in general felt that in the fall of Acre all was lost, yet despair did not immediately complete its triumph, for chivalry and policy sometimes endeavoured to revive the religious spark. If Pope John XXII. had not been too open in the display of his avarice, and too prodigal in the commutation of vows for money, the knights of Germany would once more have fought under the glorious ensign of the cross.† A threatened invasion from England (A. D. 1328) deterred Philip de Valois from leaving his country‡ for Palestine, and a

* The property of a Crusader was vested in the church during his absence. The claims of his creditors were suspended. As this was a subject of inconvenience, people found it necessary, or were compelled, to resign all crusading privileges. This renunciation appears in charters dated in 1272, but it was probably of earlier use.

† Baluzii, Vitæ Pont. Avig. I. 15, 594. II. 552.

‡ Some successes of the Turks upon the Christians in Armenia

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large body of Crusaders was dispersed when (A. D. 1364) John the Good of France died, on whom the pope intended to have conferred the title of commander of the new Crusaders.* The politic Henry IV.† of England wished to "busy giddy minds with foreign quarrels," in order to divert his people from looking too nearly into his state, and to retain their newly sworn allegiance. Both his maritime and military preparations were considerable; but the

Henry IV. of England.

filled all Europe with alarm. Philip king of France and the king of Arragon were at Rome; the pope preached before them, and exhorted them to put on the cross against the Saracens. His eloquence prevailed, and various other potentates, then at Rome for the celebration of Easter, were moved also by the call to devotion and valour. The preparations of the French king were more extensive than those of any of his predecessors in the holy wars. The maritime towns in the south of France equipped a navy, and three years' provisions were collected for forty thousand soldiers. Philip negociated with Hungary, Venice, and Genoa, for the safe conduct of the pilgrims, whose number, it is said, was three hundred thousand. English politics, however, rendered the design abortive. Froissart, vol. i. ch. 26 and 27.

* Baluzius, passim.

† Besides Henry IV. when young, had endeavoured to implant Christianity in Lithuania vi et armis. After his accession to the English throne, he gained the friendship of the clergy by aiding them in putting down the followers of Wickliff. He prudently united himself to the papal see, and naturally thought of Crusades.

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CHAP. VIII.

Henry V.

hand of nature stopped him, before he could attempt to commence his new religious career.* His son Henry V. pursuing his father's principles, though not his details of policy, took advantage of the civil discords of France, and the peers of England "wasted the memory of former days" in the vain attempt of endeavouring to subjugate a rival nation. If length of life, and national peace, had been allotted to Harry Monmouth, it is more than probable that he would have "commenced new broils in "stronds afar remote." In his last moments he declared it to be a Christian duty to build the walls of Jerusalem, and avowed the long concealed purpose of his breast to have led an army to Palestine, if he had lived in times of political tranquillity.†

* Holinshed (vol. ii. part i. p. 529, &c.) does not seem to credit Fabian's story that Henry, finding himself in the Jerusalem chamber, exclaimed, "Praise be given to God, for now I know "I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophecy of "me declared, that I should depart this life in Jerusalem." A story of this description had been flying about the world, and was occasionally applied to public characters. Pope Silvester II. had been warned that he should not die till he had celebrated mass at Jerusalem. The pope mistook this for the city so called, unwittingly celebrated mass at Rome, in a church named Jerusalem, and being deceived by the equivocation of the name, met a sudden and wretched end. Harris's Philological Inquiries, part iii. ch. 8.

† Monstrelet, vol. v. p. 371, 8vo. Johnes's edit. Henry V.

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CHAP. VIII.

Fate of the military orders.

Such were the last appearances of that martial phrenzy which so long agitated Europe: and here the history of the holy wars would naturally close, if curiosity did not suggest an inquiry into some of those military and religious orders which arose from the spirit of pilgrimages and crusades, and whose existence forms one of the most prominent characteristics of the middle ages. The knights of the Teutonick order were fixed in their conquest of Prussia, some years before the loss of the holy land. Their love of war was not extinguished: they carried both the sword and the gospel into Pomerania; and the eastern part of that country was definitively ceded to the order by a treaty of peace in the year 1343. The town of Dantzic, the capital of the new conquest, was considerably aggrandised under the dominion of the knights, and became one of the principal places of commerce on the Baltic. Pressed forward again by religion and ambition, they made war on the infidel Lithuanians,* but it was not till the begin-

Teutonick knights.

acted like his father respecting the clergy. As he had no objection to broil or roast the Lollards, he could not have been averse from murdering the Saracens.

* It was less difficult to travel into the north of Germany than to cross the seas to Palestine; the idolaters too were not so invincible as the Turks. When the military men of Europe wanted employment, they joined their arms to those of the

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ning of the fifteenth century, and after rivers of blood had flowed, that the Pagans lost their independence, and relinquished their national superstition. But the oppressive government of the knights; their intestine divisions; and their heavy imposts, the unhappy result of wars continually reviving, encouraged the nobility of Prussia and Pomerania to confederate, and to seek the protection of the kings of Poland. The torch of war was rekindled, the knights were defeated, and by the peace of Thorn in 1466 all Pomerania, and indeed all the country which is generally called Polish Prussia, was ceded to Poland. The order was allowed to

Teutonick knights. Chaucer describes his knight as having gained renown in Pruce (Prussia), Lettawe in (Lithuania), and in Ruce (Russia). Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, v. 52-55.

" Full worthy was he in his lordes werre
" And therto had he ridden, no man ferre,
" As well in Christendom as in hethenesse.
" And ever honoured for his worthinesse.
" At Alisandre he was whan it was wonne,
" Ful oftentime he hadde the bord begonne*
" Aboven alle nations in Pruce.
" In Lettowe hadde he reysed† and in Ruce,
" No Christen man so oft of his degree."

* He had been placed at the head of the table on account of his great merit.

† Made a military expedition.

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preserve the west of Prussia by the tenure of feudal service to the kings of Poland. The idea of subjection was odious to high-minded cavaliers, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century the grand master, Albert of Brandenburg, asserted in the field the independence of his order. The equality of the two powers was manifested by a suspension of arms upon liberal conditions; but religion changed the face of politics; the sworn foe of infidelity listened to and adopted the doctrines of Luther, tore himself from his order, and agreed to live in perpetual friendship with the king of Poland, by a treaty concluded with him at Cracovia, the 8th of April, 1525. The bold avowals of liberty and independence were subdued by the offer of an hereditary crown, and Albert of Brandenburg accepted Teutonick Prussia from his uncle Sigismond I. king of Poland, on those conditions of fealty which he had before pretended his honour could never submit to. The Teutonick knights thus lost Prussia; their name appears on few occasions in the history of Europe, and the order became only a "cheap defence of "nations."*

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 538, &c. Koch, Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, vol. i. p, 203, 286, 410—413. vol. ii. p. 139, &c. "Les Polonois" (M. Koch judiciously observes) "en se débarrassant de l'ordre Teutonique

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CHAP. VIII.

Knights of St. Lazarus.

On the ruin of the Christian cause in Palestine the hospital of St. Lazarus was destroyed. Various Christian princes had enriched the order: but as St. Louis and his successors were its greatest and most efficient friends, the seat of its power was in France. In the course of time the disease of leprosy* became less common, and the cavaliers of St. Lazarus relaxed the severity of their institutions. Pope Innocent VIII., in the year 1490, endeavoured to sup-

" qui leur avoit fait ombrage, et en lui substituant la maison " de Brandebourg, ne croyoient pas se donner un voisin encore " plus dangereux, qui conspireroit un jour la ruine et l'anéan- " tissement de la Pologne." Vol. ii. p. 141.

* It is generally said that leprosy was introduced into Europe by the Crusaders on their return from the holy land. This is incorrect: the disease was known much earlier, for in the year 757, at a council held at Compiegne, leprosy was allowed as a sufficient cause to dissolve a marriage. Of the fact that leprosy existed in the west long before the æra of the holy wars, there are several proofs in Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ, Med. Ævi. Diss. 16. vol. i. p. 906-908. Of course the Crusades increased the number of cases of leprosy. Ophthalmy was another disease more common in Europe during the Crusades than before them, because the intercourse was greater between Europe and Asia during the holy wars than in any commercial æra. The great number of Crusaders who returned blind from Egypt, made St. Louis found an hospital at Paris for them. To the calamities already mentioned as occasioned or augmented by the warfare between the East and West, the small-pox must be added, as, according to the best opinions, that disorder was introduced into Europe by the Saracens.

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press the order. In Italy, perhaps, he succeeded, but not in any other country; and the order subsisted in different degrees of power till the pontificates of Leo X. and Pius IV., who restored to it all its privileges. In the days of Gregory XV. the Italian part of the order was joined to the new order of St. Maurice, and the duke of Savoy was appointed its head. The bull was resisted by the knights of France; and till the reign of Henry IV. they were independent, and elected their own grand masters. But that monarch created a new institution called the Order of the Holy Virgin of Mount Carmel, and for the purpose of investing it with dignity he destroyed the unity of the knights of St. Lazarus. All their wealth and their titles were added to the new society, and their ancient ordinances were revoked.* CHAP. VIII. 1573. 1608.

As war with the infidels was the great duty and passion of the military orders, and as their glory was closely involved with the fate of Palestine, their martial energies were not quickly damped by the apparent success of their foes.†

* Touissaint, Mém. de l'ordre Notre Dame de Mont Carmel, &c.: and Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, vol. i. chap. 32 and 54.

† "What though the field be lost?
"All is not lost: the unconquerable will
"And study of revenge, immortal hate,
"And courage never to submit or yield."

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CHAP. VIII.

Knights of St. John.

After the loss of Acre, the knights of St. John and the Temple, from every preceptory and commandery in Europe, flocked to Cyprus, impatient for glory and revenge. Bulls for a new

1292. crusade were issued from Rome by pope Nicholas IV., but Europe would not respond to the wishes of the papal court. The military friars soon quitted their settlements in Cyprus, for the king denied them those privileges which they enjoyed in other countries. The grand master of the Hospitallers gained the friendship and the purse of pope Clement V. and drew a flattering picture of Christian prosperity, if the cavaliers of St. John could set up their banners in some island in the Mediterranean. Rhodes was fixed upon. Fifteen years subsequently to the loss of Acre, a new crusade was published, and the volunteers were invited to repair to Brundisium. The king of Sicily and the republic of Genoa furnished transports. The grand master headed the army, but it was not until after they had sailed, that the Crusaders knew the object of the armament. Rhodes was at that time in the power, partly of the Greeks, and partly of the Saracens. The soldiers landed; many battles were fought, and the army of the invaders was at last reduced to the military friars. Their undaunted chief borrowed money

Aug. 1310. from the Italian bankers, hired new soldiers,

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recommenced his attacks, and the whole island submitted to his authority. The subsequent history of the knights of St. John is interwoven with the general history of Europe, and is not within the scope of the present work.*

* It may, however be interesting to notice the fate of the order in England. The knights were of high consequence, for in the time of Edward IV. the prior was the first lay baron, and had a seat in parliament. By statute 32 Henry VIII. ch. xxiv. the order, both in England and Ireland, was dissolved, on the alleged reason, that the knights adhered to a foreign jurisdiction. A yearly pension of one thousand pounds was settled on Sir William Weston, the prior. Seventeen knights had annuities, varying from two hundred to thirty pounds each, and some of the goods and chattels of the priories. Ten novices had also ten pounds a-year each. The amount of the pensions was two thousand eight hundred and seventy pounds, nearly the annual value of the estates. The pensions were said to be handsome, on account of the high birth and honourable breeding of the knights. The reader must be surprised at the small number of the knights in England; and as the Hospitalians had been enriched by the property of the red-cross knights, their estates were not surprisingly large. The prior died on the very day (7th May, 1540) of the dissolution of the order. "His hospital," says Fuller, "and earthly tabernacle were buried together, and "gold, though a great cordial, could not cure a broken heart." The monastery at Bucklands was dissolved, and the prioress received from the king a gratuity of twenty-five pounds, and the grant of a life annuity of fifty pounds. Fuller, Church History, pp. 344, 345. Willis's History of the Mitred Abbies, vol. ii. pp. 129, 134. Weaver, Fun. Mon. p. 431. Queen Mary restored the order, and made Sir Thomas Tresham lord prior, in

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CHAP. VIII.

The Templars.

The history of the order, equal in dignity and power with that of the knights of St. John, remains to be told. After the remnant of the Palestine Templars had taken refuge in Cyprus, they were joined by their brother knights from every commandery in Europe: but the crusading spirit had died away, and, despairing of co-operation, most of the cavaliers returned to their various stations in the west. It is no longer the province of the Templars' historian to describe the pageantry and circumstance of war; for the knights soon repented that they had not acted like the military friars of St. John, who had fixed themselves at Rhodes in order to watch occasion for hostilities on the infidels. A memorable era in the history of the Templars is now before us—the era of their persecution. With regard to Europe, it is dark with crime, and revolting to our moral nature; but it is mellowed into serious and solemn interest by the noble deportment of the sufferers.

Philip the Fair, after robbing the Jews and exhausting every common financial scheme, re-

return for some important services which he had rendered to her. Queen Elizabeth, however, completely and finally suppressed the society. Stow's London, edition 1720, book iv. pp. 62, 63. Bridges' History of Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 69.

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solved to recruit his treasury from the lands of the Templars. His malignity gave this direction to his cupidity. Some while before, the Templars had stood high in his respect;* but his feelings were changed into hatred, because the knights had taken the part of Boniface VIII. in a late altercation between himself and that pope. It appears from a document among the French public charters, that Philip proposed the question to his council, whether the estates of the Templars ought to be confiscated to the use of the prince in whose country they were situated. The answer was of course in base accordance with the royal wishes. It was necessary in the next place to make charges of crimes against the knights; for the world would never suffer an order of chivalry to be swept

* This is proved by historical documents cited by Mr. Raynouard, in his work on the history of the order. For it appears, that, in the year 1304, Philip the Fair, in an act which accorded numerous privileges in their favour, explains in the following terms the reasons of his munificence: "The works of piety and cha-
" rity, the magnificent liberality which the holy order of the
" Temple has exercised at all times and in all places, and their
" noble courage, which ought again to be excited to the dangerous
" defence of the holy land, have determined us to spread our
" royal bounty over the order and its knights in our kingdom,
" and to give special marks of favour to an establishment for
" which we entertain a sincere predilection."

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from the earth by an act of barefaced power. The sanction of the church was also requisite; for as the order had been established under the authority of a council, no inferior power could destroy it. The gold of Philip then seduced some of the Templars from their loyalty,* and these recreant knights accused their fraternity of the various abominations of treachery, murder, idolatry, and Islamism. Philip communicated these charges to Pope Clement V., but his holiness correctly replied, that they were incredible, impossible, and unheard of.† But the Pope did not long retain this wise judgment: he was compelled or persuaded by the king to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Templars. Jacques de Molai, the grand master of the order, was at that time at Cyprus. He was invited to France by the Pope, for the avowed purpose of effecting an union between his order and that of the Hospitalians. In the

* Ferrati of Vicenza, a writer of the fourteenth century, says, that at the time of these proceedings there were 15,000 knights all over Christendom. Ferrati Vicentini in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. vol. ii. p. 1018. Out of so large a number, Philip rationally enough expected to find some disloyal knights.

† Ad credendum quæ tunc dicebantur, cum quasi incredibilia et impossibilia viderentur, nostrum animum vix potuimus applicare, quia tamen plura incredibilia et inaudita, &c. Lettre de Clement V. à Philippe le Bel, de 9. kal. de Sept. An. 2 de son Pontificat.

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month of April 1307, he repaired to Poictiers, accompanied by the preceptor of Palestine, the preceptor of Poitou and Aquitain, and the preceptor of France, for the purpose of justifying the Templars from the calumnies which Philip had industriously circulated against them. These loyal and gallant knights exculpated the order from the accusations, alike abominable and absurd, of Philip; and De Molai then returned to Paris. He was now in the circle of Philip's power.

Oct. 1307. Imprisonment of the Templars in France.

All things being ripe for the execution of his scheme of nefariousness, Philip, on the 13th of October of the same year, 1307, took the bold step of seizing and imprisoning all the knights Templars whom his officers could discover in every quarter of France. The knights at Paris were accused of impiety and vice; of being irreligious and immoral, not in opposition, but agreeably, to the statutes of the order, of practising various abominations of idolatry, and particularly of renouncing Christ at the time of their reception. They were interrogated by William of Paris, the inquisitor. Life, freedom, and fortune were promised to those who would avow the crimes imputed to the order. So resolved was the inquisitor upon the destruction of the Temple, that he even presented forged letters of the grand master, requiring

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First cruelties practised on them.

his brother knights to confess the truth of the accusations. The virtue of some knights failed them: but thirty-six stout-hearted cavaliers heroically braved the horrors of the rack, and maintained the innocence of the order till death closed their sufferings. Others survived the torture, and were imprisoned. Corporeal sufferings wrung confessions from a few, and the cool and malignant tormentors noted the sighs and the tears, as well as the words, of the unhappy knights. Nature indeed must have groaned its pains, for few hearts could have endured unshaken the torments which the inquisitors inflicted. The victim being stripped naked had weights attached to his feet, and he was drawn to the roof of his dungeon by a rope that was attached to his pinioned arms: the cord was then slackened, and again retained, till the various shocks dislocated his limbs. Sometimes fire was employed; and to quicken the anguish, the victim was rubbed with oil. Sometimes pincers were used; sometimes—but humanity must throw a pall over this dreadful subject.

Proceedings at Tours.

The Pope was indignant at Philip's violation of the authority of the church; but Philip soon soothed him to complaisance. The king then compelled the faculty of divines and an assembly of nobles at Tours, to pray that the Templars

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might be punished. He repaired to the Pope at Poictiers at the end of June, and presented to him seventy of the Templars who had been tortured into confession. De Molai and the other chiefs of the order were in the neighbourhood: they were racked in private; and not finding that their confessions would warrant his proceedings, and dreading that, if they appeared at the council, the remonstrances of such distinguished heroes would make a public impression, Clement kept them immured. In a consistory of nobles, clergy, and people, entirely devoted to his will, Clement presented the depositions of seventy tortured Templars, and then wrote to William of Paris, authorising him and certain prelates, as papal commissioners, to proceed with the inquiry; and the result was to be submitted to the decision of a general council. Clement afterwards (June 1308) issued a bull, directing his nuncios and the resident clergy in every part of Christendom, to inquire into the conduct of the Templars. He stated that, pressed by public clamour and by the declarations of the king, the barons, the clergy, and the laity of France, he had examined seventy members of the order, and had found them all guilty, though in various degrees, of irreligion and immorality. The bull authorised all the knights who wished to defend the order to

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appear before the commissioners: but it threatened with excommunication all who harboured or gave counsel or money to the knights.

Papal commission at Paris.

The inquiry at Paris now assumed the form of a papal commission. The knights were cited to appear, and in hope that justice would hold her course, the grand master presented himself for the purpose of defending the order. Jacques de Molai was repeatedly importuned to confess the sins of himself and his brethren. He requested the consultory aid of advocates; for he avowed himself a simple unlettered knight, and more practised in war than in forensic subtilty. But his request was denied, on the ground that in charges of heresy no such assistance was ever granted. De Molai then, in simple and energetic language, defended his order from the general charges of irreligion. He declared that thrice a week they gave alms, and that no people had shed more blood than they had shed in defence of Christianity. He was interrupted by the remark of the commissioners, that without faith all good works and valour were useless. De Molai rejoined, that he had faith, and accordingly repeated with firmness and energy the usual Christian creed. The court declared that he had confessed various crimes, and they read to him a paper,

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purporting to be the result of his examination before the cardinals and legate of the Pope at Chinon. But De Molai most vehemently denied the accuracy of the document, and declared that the three cardinals who had pretended to authenticate such an instrument, deserved the punishments which the Saracens inflicted on liars. Seven knights, who had before confessed, now retracted their confessions. More than nine hundred knights presented themselves to the commissioners, and declared their intention of defending the order:—"even unto death," as some of them exclaimed, in the spirit of devotedness with which they had rushed into the thickest array of Asiatic chivalry. This avowal compelled the commissioners to make distinct and formal charges against the order; and the papal authorities permitted seventy-five of the knights to prepare the defence.

Specific charges against the knights.

The knights Templars were then accused of renouncing, at the time of their matriculation, God, Jesus Christ, the virgin, and all the saints. The brethren used often to spit and trample on the cross, in proof of their contempt of Christ, who, they said, was crucified for his own crimes, and not for the sins of the world. Out of their disdain of God and his Son, they

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adored a cat* and certain wooden and golden idols.† The master could absolve brethren from sins. All these matters were agreeable to the statutes of the order; they were in old and

* This feline worship is a curious circumstance. The accusers of the Templars were as refined in their cruelty as the enemies of the Cathari; who, wishing to prove criminality by etymology, said that those heretics took their name, "a catto, "quia osculuntur posteriora catti; in cujus specie, ut aiunt, "appareret iis Lucifer." Alanus de Insulis, p. 146. Paris, 1612. To charge the Templars as a matter of offence with adoring a cat is singular, considering that in the middle ages animals formed as prominent a part in the worship of the time as they had done in the old religion of Egypt. Every body has heard of the feast of the ass. The cat also was a very important personage in religious festivals. At Aix in Provence, on the festival of Corpus Christi, the finest tom cat of the country, wrapt in swaddling clothes like a child, was exhibited, in a magnificent shrine, to public admiration. Every knee was bent, every hand strewed flowers or poured incense, and Grimalkin was treated in all respects as the god of the day. But on the festival of St. John, poor tom's fate was reversed. A number of the tabby tribe were put into a wicker basket, and thrown alive into the midst of an immense fire, kindled in the public square, by the bishop and his clergy. Hymns and anthems were sung, and processions were made by the priests and people in honour of the sacrifice.

† None of these idols were ever found. How sensible is the remark of Bayle: "S'ils (les Templiers) étaient assez impies "pour renoncer à la religion Chrétienne, qui était celle de leur "naissance, comment auraient-ils pu se confier à une idole?" Bayle, Nouvelles de la Rép. des Lettres, Œuvres Diverses, vol. i. p. 646. See further, note FF.

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general usage; and there was no other mode of reception than the performance of certain acts, many of which were opposite to nature, as well as contrary to law.

Their answer.

To these charges the Templars returned a general and firm denial; and, in consciousness of innocence, called for an acquittal, except the accusation could be substantiated. In violation of the benign forbearance of legal inquisition, the knights had been seized like sheep intended for the slaughter, their estates had been taken from them, and, without any respect for their rank or station in the world, they had been cast into loathsome dungeons; as if the existence of truth and the capacity of preserving it were necessarily united, they had been tortured, and the strength of each man's nerves discovered. On the assurance that the king would destroy the order, whether the result of the examinations were favourable or hostile to its continuance, many knights had yielded to pain or hopelessness, stayed the hands of the executioner, and confessed every crime; for royal pardon and protection were proffered to those who confessed. The prisoners had been deprived of the habits of the order; spiritual succours had been denied to such brethren as were ill, and no funeral solemnities graced the burial of the dead. All these facts were so public and notorious,

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that it was impossible to controvert or palliate them. The order of the knights Templars was eminent for its virtue and its discipline; and when the chances of war had thrown any of them into the hands of the Muselman foe, where could an instance be found of want of religious heroism? And would they have been martyrs for Christianity, if they had not believed in Christ?

Proceedings of a provincial council at Paris.

While these matters were in progress, a provincial council was held at Paris by the archbishop of Sens, for the purpose of determining the fate of the Templars. Before this new court many of the knights were brought. The commissioners relied for the truth of the charges upon the deposition of those who had been tortured or bribed into confession, and some of the craven knights basely persisted in their asseverations. But the court was almost shamed into decency when a cavalier, Humbert du Puy was his name, instead of bending before pretended justice, passionately declared that he had been thrice tortured, and for thirty-six weeks had been confined in a damp and putrid tower, and supported on bread and water alone. The court however soon resumed its contempt of virtue and equity. It condemned to perpetual imprisonment those from whom no confession of guilt had been extorted. But such as had retracted their forced avowals were declared to

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Judicial murder of many knights.

be relapsed heretics; they were delivered over to the secular power, and condemned to the fire. The number in this last mentioned class of the prescribed was fifty-four. All the historians who have spoken of the event, whatever opinion they might have entertained on the general question, friends or enemies, natives or strangers, have unanimously attested the virtuous courage, the noble intrepidity, and the religious resignation which these martyrs of heroism displayed. Arrived at the place of punishment, they beheld with firmness and placidity the piles of wood and the torches already lighted in the hands of the executioners. In vain a messenger of the king promised pardon and liberty to those who did not persist in their retractations; in vain their surrounding friends endeavoured to touch their hearts by prayers and tears. The virtues of constancy, resignation, and truth, possessed them wholly. Invoking God, the virgin, and the saints, they sung the hymn of death; triumphing over the most cruel tortures, they believed themselves already in the heavens, and they died in the midst of their songs.

Such were the proceedings at Paris on the subject of the Templars. The papal bull was executed in various other parts of France; and

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the circumstances were similar to those that occurred in Paris.*

Proceedings in other countries.

The trial of the knights in the rest of Europe, ended in proving the virtue and honour of the order. All persons of wealth and consideration in Cyprus, which had often been a seat of the Templars, bore testimony to their moral and chivalric merit.

Germany.

In Germany the subject was investigated in the councils of the archbishops of Mayence and Treves, and the Templars were declared innocent.

Italy.

In Italy, Sicily, and Provence, where the papal influence was great, many knights were tortured into self-condemnation.

Spain.

In Spain, the result of the investigation was an honourable acquittal. Their military front was powerful, and the ministers of papal vengeance did not dare to apply the torture.

England.

The circumstances that attended the proscription of the knights in England are extremely interesting. When Philip had matured his scheme of destruction, he sent ambassadors to Edward II. to stimulate him to similar pro-

* For this account of the persecution of the Templars, I have relied principally upon the three following works: 1, Nicolai Gurtleri Historia Templariorum, Amstelodam 8mo 1703.—2, Du Puy, Histoire de la Condennation des Templiers, 2 vols, 12mo, 1713, a work highly valuable for its documents—and 3, The useful and well-written volume of Raynouard, already quoted.

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ceedings. The English monarch, in a letter to Philip, dated 30th of October, 1307, expressed the strongest surprise of himself and his council at the charges preferred against the Templars, and declared his intention of investigating the truth. A papal bull then arrived in England, requiring the king to imprison the Templars; and accordingly, on the 1st of December, 1307, the sheriffs of England and Wales were commanded to imprison the Templars and seize their estates. This measure, execrable from its illegality, is still more detestable by reason of its being contrary to the judgment of him who authorized it. Only four days after his command to the sheriffs, Edward dispatched letters to the kings of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon, urging them not to credit the accusations; and, on the tenth of the same month of December, he wrote to the Pope, informing him that he could not believe the charges against the Templars until they were substantiated by legal proof, for the grand master and the knights were faithful to the Catholic religion, and were held in great esteem in England.* Nevertheless, the knights Templars (in number more than two hundred) were imprisoned, and their property was con-

* These letters and the bull are in Rymer, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 10, 18, 19, 20, 24, new edition.

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fiscated. Edward no longer vindicated the cavaliers, for when he married the daughter of Philip, he adopted all the politics of the French court. He allowed the Templars to linger in confinement for more than a year and a half, in contradiction to the anxiety which he once expressed for an examination of the charges.

At length, in the month of October, 1309, in consequence of a papal bull, the archbishop of Canterbury appointed courts at London, York, and Lincoln, for the trial of the Templars. The charges differed but little from those that had been preferred against the order in France. And first of the proceedings in London. The court consisted of the bishop of the diocese, some inferior clergy, and the representatives of the Pope. Forty-seven of the knights, who had been incarcerated in the Tower, denied the crimes wherewith they were charged. William de la Moore, grand prior of England, emulated De Molai in the earnestness with which he defended the order. Seventeen lay and ecclesiastical persons were then summoned to the court; and their opinions were asked whether the Templars were a religious people, and whether their private meetings were held from a good or a bad motive: whether they knew or had heard that any of the Templars had renounced Christianity. One witness sagely

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inferred criminality from the mere circumstance of the meetings of the knights being secret. Another said, that while he was young, boys used to warn each other of the evil eye of a Templar. Of equal judicial merit with this testimony was the declaration of a witness that, twenty years before, he had heard some Templars say, as he understood them, that once in every year the devil came into the chapter and carried off one of the brethren. Some witnesses avowed their total ignorance of the principles and lives of the Templars: others confessed ignorance of the truth of the charges, but strongly asserted the general moral deportment of the knights. Instead of passing a verdict of acquittal, twenty-four new articles of charge, and an appendix of five more, were framed against the Templars. They were accused of burying in private, of having double methods of admission, of absolving excommunicated persons, and of relaxing canonical penances.

These charges were not proved, and the Templars denied their truth. It was only on the subject of absolution, that the least scandal in their conduct could be suspected. It was admitted that the master could absolve men who offended against the ceremonies of religion; but he did not pretend to pardon crimes. At the general chapter, the grand preceptor de-

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clared that those persons who had not confessed their sins, or had withdrawn any money from the Templars, could not partake of heaven: but other offences, which could not be confessed for modesty's sake, or for fear of the law, he absolved according to the degree of his authority. There could not, however, have been much evil in this ceremony: the knights acknowledging that this absolution was not perfect, because the church form was never used,—"I absolve thee in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost."

No acquittal was pronounced, for the commissioners were bent to gratify the wishes of the Pope and the king. Clement, angry at the delay of the proceedings, had written to Edward, exhorting him to apply the torture to the knights. A milder course was adopted, and the object was attained by threatening the knights with the punishment attached to the crime of heresy. The court decided that the knights could only acquit themselves by canonical compurgation—a judgment which implied, however, the innocence of the order. The court could not convict the knights on the evidence, and, therefore, they called on them to clear themselves of the defamation on their character, which the simple circumstance of

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accusation had occasioned. Canonical compurgation was of impossible accomplishment, regarding such of the offences as were alleged to have been committed in the chapters of the order. The meetings of the chapter were secret, and consequently no testimony save that of the accused could be given. The knights then were ordered to solicit absolution in the usual form, or bring witnesses to disavow the charges. The Templars, from dread of the punishment attached to heresy, made general confessions of crimes, and they were absolved by the archbishop of Canterbury and other dignified clergy. William de la Moore, the grand master of the Templars, and Himbert Blanke, who was grand prior of Auvergne, and also one of the chiefs of the order in England, were the only persons whom no fear of imprisonment nor dread of ecclesiastical punishment could induce to change their first avowals of the innocence of their body. They were requested to make general confessions of the criminality of the order. They declared they were not guilty of heresy, and would never abjure crimes which they had not committed. They were remanded to prison, and William de la Moore was confined during the short remainder of his life. The king allowed him two shillings a day, and after his death he

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ordered the payment to his family of the arrears of his pension, and that the same provision should be continued in favour of Himbert de Blanke. Each of the other knights was allowed four-pence a day. Most of the Templars were imprisoned; but they were released before the next great circumstance in the history of this most cruel persecution—the council of Vienne.

In Ireland about thirty Templars, in Scotland only two, were confined and examined. In Lincoln the number somewhat exceeded twenty. There were twenty-three at York. The dread of ecclesiastical censures produced an effect in all these places similar to the effect in London. General confessions of heresy were made; the clergy pardoned the penitents, aud received them into the bosom of the church. So zealous was the archbishop of York in serving the Pope, that he inquired of the learned theologians of his province, whether torture might be applied to those who did not confess, although, as he added, (a fact so interesting to Englishmen) torture was unknown in this country.* He even proposed

* An sint supponendi quæstionibus et tormentis, licet hoc in regno Angliæ nusquam visum fuerit vel auditum? Hemingford, edit. Hearne, vol. i. p. 256. There is not one expression in

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to send abroad for a machine, as there was none in England. It does not appear that torture was applied, the threat of the punishment attached to heresy accomplishing the object.*

Council at Vienne, Oct. 1311.

On the 13th of October 1311, four years after Philip had commenced his persecution of the Templars, a council consisting of three hundred bishops, and an untold of number of inferior clergy, was held at Vienne in Dauphiny. One great purpose was to make some general decree on the case of the Templars. Protection was promised to persons who wished to appear in defence of the order: but when nine cavaliers presented themselves to the council, as the representatives of fifteen hundred of their brethren in Lyons and Switzerland, Clement threw them into prison. With the disgraceful exception of one Italian prelate and three French archbishops, the council remonstrated against this violation of faith and justice, and declared that the grand master and nine knights ought to be heard in defence of

the reports of any of the commissioners which authorizes the supposition that the torture was used.

* Stubbs, Knyghton, Hemingford, and other chroniclers, mention the fate of the Templars in England; but I have chiefly drawn my account from a very long and clear report of the proceedings, in the second volume of Wilkins's Concilia.

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the order. The Pope disregarded this opinion, and terminated the session. In the February of the following year, the council re-assembled: the French king, his three sons, his brother, and a formidable military array having previously arrived. In a secret consistory, held on the 13th of March 1312, the pope declared his intentions regarding the order. At the end of a few weeks the council opened, and on the 2d of April the Pope read his bull. It states that although he cannot of right, consistently with the inquisition and proceedings, pronounce a definitive sentence, yet, by way of apostolical provision and regulation, he perpetually prohibits people from entering the order or calling themselves Templars. The penalty of the greater excommunication was held out as a punishment for offending. No deliberation was permitted, no confirmation of the bull was asked, and the presence of the French princes prevented all remonstrance. The bull was, however, promulgated as the decree of the council of Vienne, though in truth it directly contradicted the opinion of the judges, that the nine knights should be heard before sentence was pronounced. The proceedings of Pope Clement V. have been impugned by every writer on the canon law since the fourteenth century; the injustice and irre-

The Pope, without the council's judgment, prohibits men from becoming knights.

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gularity of his bull were so well known that Clement XIV. in his bull (July 1773) for the abolition of the Jesuits, censures his predecessor for acting in opposition to the judgment of the council, that the nine knights should be heard in defence of the order.

Confiscation of the Templars' estates.

On the great subject of the distribution of the Templars' estates, the Pope opposed the wishes of a French king, and he shewed that base subserviency to Philip was not the only form of his selfishness. Clement decreed that the estates of the Templars should be conveyed to the Hospitalians, on the argument that the original purpose of the red-cross knights was the subjugation of infidels, a purpose which the military friars were earnestly pursuing. Wherever the papal influence extended, the estates were not secured to the Hospitalians till immense fees had been paid to the coffers of St. Peter. Philip the Fair and his successors held possession of the Templar estates in France for several years, and retained nearly 300,000 livres for what they chose to call the expences of the prosecution. In every country the decree of Clement was but slowly executed, for the sovereigns of the respective countries retained the estates till the knights of Rhodes established their rights. In Germany, Italy, and part of Spain, the decree was faithfully

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executed; but in Valencia the knights of Calatrava were enriched, and in Arragon the order of the knights of our lady of Montesa was created in the place of the Templars, and supported by their wealth. Denis, king of Portugal, the most wise and virtuous monarch of his time, preserved the order of the red-cross knights, making only the trifling sacrifice to the bull of Clement, by changing their title from that of the soldiers of the Temple to that of the soldiers of Christ. In England Edward II. professed to obey the decree of the Pope, and recommended the Hospitalians to continue the accustomed allowance to the unfortunate knights. Edward, however, gave to different favourites much of the forfeited property.* Pope John XXII. repeatedly blamed both clergy and laity for the neglect of justice to the Hospitallers; and at length in 1322 the parliament confirmed the royal decree. But notwithstanding this parliamentary sanction, the knights were obliged to pay large sums to those who had received the favours of the court, before the estates were surrendered to them.

* Thus the Earls of Lancaster and Pembroke, and the younger Spenser, successively had grants of the Temple in London; but in consequence of the events of death, rebellion, and attainder, it reverted to the crown. In the reign of Edward III. the Hos-

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Murder of the grand master.

The last circumstance in this mournful scene of the Templars' history, was the condemnation of the grand master, Jacques de Molai. About a year after the termination of the council at Vienne, two cardinals as papal legates, the archbishop of Sens, and some other French prelates, met at Paris, and sat in judgment upon the grand master, and upon Guy, brother of the prince of Dauphiny, and the two grand priors of France and Aquitain. There was no new trial and no new examination. But on a public scaffold, when a pile of wood was lighted by the ordinary executioner, the commissioners called upon the knights to confirm the acknow-

pitallers got full possession of the Temple, and demised it unto some common-law professors that came thither from Thavies'-inn, Holborn. The rebels, in 1381, very much injured the church and buildings of the Temple. The lawyers divided themselves into two bodies, those of the Inner Temple and those of the Middle Temple, and held the mansion, as tenants to the Hospitallers, till the reign of Henry VIII., when the estates of that order were seized by the crown. The legal Templars were tenants to the crown till the reign of James I., when the building was granted to them in fee. Dugdale, Origines Jurid. cap. 57. ed. 1671. Stow's London, book iii, p. 271. To refer for a moment to earlier times, it may be remarked, that the kings of England kept much of their treasure in the Temple in London. Henry II. and queen Eleanor desired to be buried in that place. Henry III. was educated there. M. Paris and Spelman, cited in Du Cange, in verbo Templum.

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ledgment of the immoralities and heresies which they had made to the Pope. The priors of France and Aquitain renewed their confession. But the virtuous Jacques de Molai cried aloud that he had been guilty of the greatest crime in charging his brother knights with vice. "I uttered," he continued, "all that the inquisitors wished only for the purpose of escaping the torments of the rack. But I abhor the weakness which I then betrayed. Great as are the torments which are prepared for me, I will endure them rather than purchase a few years of life by persisting in falsehood." Similar language was uttered by Guy: his declaration closed the proceedings, and the four knights were re-conveyed to prison. On the same day, the 19th of March 1313, Jacques de Molai was burnt alive on the very spot in Paris which has been adorned in later times with a statue of Henry IV. With his dying lips he bore testimony to the virtue of the order, and his corporeal pain was lost in mental anguish for his former want of firmness. The brother of the prince of Dauphiny met with the same unhappy but honourable end. The two priors seem to have died in prison.

The innocence of the Templars.

This was the persecution of the Templars; and the middle ages, dark as they are with crime, have no fouler stain upon their annals.

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That the Templars were oppressed has been generally admitted; but there has also been a lurking suspicion that they were not altogether guiltless. This suspicion has very much arisen from the difficulty which the mind has found to imagine such enormities would have been committed without some foundation in truth.* It has been supposed that the Templars were ambitious, ambition being the natural result of their wealth. But the knights of St. John had far greater possessions, and might therefore have entertained more ambitious views than the Templars: but the military friars stood unimpeached, while the reins of indignation were poured on the red-cross knights. The union of these two chivalric fraternities had been a frequent subject of papal consideration, and the impracticability of the measure, not its impropriety, finally prevented its completion. The stern Asiatic rigour† of the Templars' rules and

* Mariana writes very safely on the subject of the Templars. He says, "it is most probable they were not all innocent, nor were all of them guilty." The jesuit ought to have known, that the crimes of a few or a great many individuals were not the alleged matters of offence. The whole body of knights were accused: it was the practice of the chapters, as sanctioned by the statutes of the order, which had passed the common measure of vice.

† Thus there were not any sisters in this order as there were in that of St. John. The ancient statutes say, that the devil has

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manners was always objected to by the Hospitalians; and the sagacious members of both orders foretold that there would be perpetual dissensions, if the rival and jealous knights attempted to live in social intercourse. But no one charged the Templars that their order was not "the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise;" and there is not a tittle of evidence to prove that their moral deportment did not correspond with the chivalric bearing of the day.* The charge of Islamism is a charge of thrice-tempered absurdity, when we reflect for a moment on the gallant devotedness of the knights to the purposes of the order. The

turned many a man from Paradise by throwing a woman in his way. I shall transcribe, for the benefit of those whom it may concern, the statute which has for its title the words "Ut omnium "mulierum fugiuntur oscula." I hope it will not be perused with that levity, which an allusion to it during Rebecca's trial at Templestowe excited in the younger members of the order. "Periculosum esse credimus omni religioni, vultum mulierum "nimis attendere, et ideo nec viduam, nec virginem, nec matrem, "nec sororem, nec amitam, nec ullam aliam fœminam, aliquis "frater osculari præsumat. Fugiat ergo fœminia oscula Christi "militia, per quæ solent homines sœpe periclitari, ut pura cons-"cientia et secura vita in conspectu Domini perenniter valeat "conversari." cap. 72.

* Some writers have charged the Templars with pride, and have referred to a pointed sentence of Richard Cœur de Lion. See Brompton, apud decem Scriptores, col. 1279. Knyghton, however, makes the humble monarch charge both the Templars and the Hospitalians with the sin in question. col. 2412.

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great heresy of the age was the Manichæan heresy; and considering the oriental habits of the Templars, it might be supposed that if their religious creed had been stained with error, it would have been the error of the Manichæans. They were not charged with this heresy, but with crimes of idolatry and bestial worship, which in the language of the Pope Clement V. before he had sunk into tame subserviency to Philip the Fair, were "incredible, impossible, and unheard of." Writers on the fate of the Templars have not sufficiently regarded the proceedings of the council at Vienne, or rather of the Pope in the name of that council, nor the character of Philip the Fair. The Pope in this bull did not presume to affirm that the charges against the Templars were proved; on the contrary he states that the proceedings did not warrant him in passing a definitive sentence: and then he goes on to commit the glaring absurdity of making a provisional decree to be executed in perpetuity. The motives of Philip the Fair have been already stated, from his own mouth. The matter scarcely requires confirmation; but it is curious to observe its notoriety in the fourteenth century. St. Antoninus and Villani expressly ascribe the condemnation of the Templars to the cupidity of the French king. Boccaccio is a witness for the assertion that

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the Parisians attributed the severity of the king to his avarice. William Ventura, the historian of Asti, says, that this prosecution was excited by the envy and pecuniary selfishness of Philip.* Thus then the crime of the Templars was their wealth. Philip the Fair that "mal di Francia," as Dante has for ever branded him, was the author of the persecution.† The Pope and the king of England cried aloud against the iniquity, till selfish considerations changed their wills, and urged them to join in the conspiracy.

* St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, P. 3, tit. 21, c. i. f. 3, p. 92. ap Raynald ann. 1307, p. 18, cited in Sismondi Hist. des Rép. Ital. vol. iv. c. xxvi. Villani, Storia, lib. viii. c. 92. p. 429. Boccaccio de casibus Virorum Illustrium, p. 260, 262. Aug. Vind. 1544. Chron. Astense, c. 27, t. xi. p. 192.

† Fuller has well and quaintly said "The chief cause of their ruin was their extraordinary wealth. It is quarrel and cause enough to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles. We may believe king Philip would never have taken away their lives, if he might have taken their lands without putting them to death; but the mischief was, he could not get the honey without burning the bees." History of the Holy War, book v. ch. iii.

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REMARKS ON THE GENERAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRUSADES.

THE origin and history of the fanatical and military enterprises, called the Crusades, have been traced. No religious wars have ever been so long, so sanguinary, and so destructive. Countless hosts of holy warriors fell the victims of their own vindictive enthusiasm and military ardour. Fierceness and intolerance were the strongest features in the character of the dark ages, and it is, perhaps, not so much in the conduct, as in the object, of the Crusades, that any thing distinct and peculiar can be marked. It was not for the conversion of people, nor the propagation of opinions, but for the redemption of the sepulchre of Christ, and the destruction of the enemies of God, that the crimson standard was unfurled. The western world did not cast itself into Asia from any view of expediency, or in consequence of any abstract theoretical principle of a right of hostility; men did not arm themselves from any conviction that the coexistence of Christendom and Islamism was in-

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compatible with the doctrines of the Koran, or that the countries of the west would be precipitated into the gulf of destruction, if Asia Minor were not torn from the Seljuk Turks, and restored to the emperor of Constantinople. But the flame of war spread from one end of Europe to the other, for the deliverance of the holy land from a state which was called pollution; and the floodgates of fanaticism were unlocked for the savage and iniquitous purpose of extermination. Count Robert of Flanders, one of the heroes of the first Crusade, might indeed have wished to aid his imperial friend, Alexius, and pope Urban II. was swelled with the soul-inspiring idea of a glorious triumph of the Christian cause over infidelity. But popular madness would not listen to the calls of generous policy and lofty ambition. The wish for the Redemption of the holy land was the feeling which influenced both Godfrey of Bouillon and St. Louis, the first and the last great champions of the cross; it was that wild desire which moved Europe for two centuries, and without it the Crusades would never have been undertaken. Political ambition, ties of country and kindred, clerical authority, habit, and custom, encouraged the general principle, and while some fanatics courted the crown of martyrdom, others aspired to the guerdon of renown. But the usual feel-

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ings of warriors did not create the Crusades; they supported them indeed, yet when the flame of enthusiasm was extinguished, military ardour and papal power could not rekindle it.

The question of the justice of the holy wars is one of easy solution. The Crusaders were not called upon by Heaven to carry on hostilities against the Muselmans. Palestine did not, of right, belong to the Christians in consequence of any gift of God: and it was evident, from the fact of the destruction of the second temple, that there was no longer any peculiar sanctity in the ground of Jerusalem. There is no command in the Scriptures for Christians to build the walls of the holy city, and no promise of an earthly Canaan as the reward of virtue. "It is "mere equivocation to call Palestine the Lord's "heritage, and the land promised to his peo- "ple. These expressions belong to the Old "Testament in the proper and literal sense, "and can be applied to the New only in a "figurative sense. The heritage which Christ "purchased with his blood is his church, col- "lected from all nations, and the land which "he promised is the heavenly country."*

If Europe had armed itself for the purpose of

* Fleury, cited in Jortin's Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 337.

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succouring the Grecian emperor, the rendering of such assistance would have been a moral action, for the Saracenian march of hostility would not have stopped with the subjugation of Constantinople, and it is incumbent upon us to prevent a danger, as well as to repel one. If the Christians had been animated by the conviction that war with all the world was the vital principle of the Muhammedan religion, then also a right of hostility would have been raised.* But before they could have been justified on this last-

* This is Johnson's argument. "The lawfulness and justice "of the holy wars have been much disputed, but, perhaps, "there is a principle on which the question may be easily "determined. If it be a part of the religion of the Mahometans, "to extirpate by the sword all other religions, it is, by the laws "of self-defence, lawful for men of every other religion, and for "Christians among others, to make war upon Mahometans, "simply as Mahometans, as men obliged by their own principles "to make war upon Christians, and only lying in wait till "opportunity shall promise them success." Notes on Shakspeare's Henry IV. act i. scene i. In a similar strain, Lord Bacon says, "It is to be well noted, that towards ambitious "states, which are noted to aspire to great monarchies, and to "seek upon all occasions to enlarge their dominions, *crescunt* "*argumenta justi metus*, all particular fears do grow and mul-"tiply out of the contemplation of the general causes and prac-"tice of such states. Therefore, in deliberation of war against "the Turk, it hath been often, with great judgment, maintained, "that Christian princes and states have always a sufficient "ground of invasive war against the enemy; not for cause of "religion, but upon a just fear; forasmuch as it is a funda-

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mentioned argument, proof was necessary that the danger was imminent, and that time and circumstances had not reduced the principle to a mere dry inoperative letter of the law.* In the first hundred and fifty years of Muhammedan history, the Muselmans made and continued successful attacks on the Christians; and the invasion of France by the Spanish and African Moors, seemed to endanger Christendom as a world independent of and not tributary to the Saracens. In all that long period the people of the west might have instituted Crusades on principles of self-defence. But as they had acquiesced for ages in the existence of Islamism, they could not afterwards draw the sword, except for the

" mental law in the Turkish empire, that they may, without any " other provocation, make war upon Christendom for the pro- " pagation of their law; so that there lieth upon Christians a " perpetual fear of war, hanging over their heads, from them; " and therefore they may at all times, as they think good, be " upon the preventive." *War with Spain*. Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 505, edit. 1803. And in his Essays, "The Turk hath " at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a " quarrel that he may always command." Vol. ii. p. 328.

* As it is in the present day with the Turkish nation. The principle that, for the purpose of converting the infidels, war is the ordinance of God, is acknowledged by the Muselman doctors. They have accommodated it, however, to modern times, by the explanation that the duty is sufficiently performed when only one Muhammedan country is in a state of hostility with an infidel people.

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purpose of preventing or repelling new aggressions. No dangers hung over Christendom at the time when the Crusades commenced. During the greater part of the century at the end of which the din of religious war resounded throughout Europe, the Seljukian Turks or Tartars were formidable foes to the oriental Christians, and, as we have seen, the terrified Greek emperors frequently implored the succour of the west. But some years before the call was answered, the Turkish empire had suffered the usual fate of oriental greatness, for the emir, Ortok, rebelled in Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Rhoum, or Asia Minor, refused to own the supremacy of the Seljuks. If the sultan of Nice had been aided by the Seljukian lord, the Cæsars must have been hurled from their throne. But on the death of Soliman,* the new state in Asia Minor lost much of its vigour; and the fair prospects of the Tartars for universal dominion were blasted when Malek Shah died.† The royal vassals became independent monarchs. Asia, indeed, was warlike but it was divided. The Crusaders, on their arrival in the Moslem states, were opposed by large armies; for the power of the European hosts had spread alarm over all Muselman Asia; and mutual jealousies yielded to the high

* A. D. 1085. † A. D. 1092.

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necessity of preservation. But after the Christians had entered Syria, civil wars among the Turks were renewed; and the rightful lord of Nice had as many districts stript from him by his turbulent nobility as by his religious foes. The want of union between the Seljukian empire and the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum, and the subsequent dismemberment of both these great states, were the circumstances in politics which preserved Constantinople. The first Crusaders restored much of Bithynia to the Greek emperor; and Alexius Comnenus and his successors profited by the victories of the soldiers of Christ, and of the dissensions among the Moslem emirs, and in consequence of these co-operating causes, recovered the dominion over the Grecian shores of the Mediterranean and Euxine seas.

On principles of morals and politics, therefore, the holy wars cannot be justified. It has been shown, that no dangers menaced Europe at the commencement of the Crusades; and it is only a subject of conjecture whether circumstances might in after times have warranted the military excitement of Christendom against Islamism. Perhaps the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem diverted the thoughts of Saladin from the subjugation of Constantinople. The master passion of that extraordinary man was hatred of the infidels; but the objects of his fanatical detestation were powerful in Palestine, and the

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lord of Syria and Egypt, of course, made their destruction his first attempt. The perpetual rebellions of the Atabeks prevented him for many years from seriously attacking the Franks. Death terminated his career of victory, before it could be proved whether his religious ambition was sated, or whether he would not lead his conquering armies into Asia Minor. It may, I think, be fairly conjectured that the only circumstance likely to have checked him, would have been his fear of the rebellion of his valuable province of Egypt, when he should be far removed from the seat of government. His dominion was much greater than that of the Ottoman monarchs when they stormed the capital of the Byzantine empire; and if Saladin's power had, like their's, arisen in Asia Minor, the fall of Constantinople would have been the first and chief object in his desires of foreign hostility. The wars of the early Saracens with the Greeks had shown the difficulty of carrying on attacks upon the imperial city, unless the whole of the surrounding states were at the command of the besiegers; and as Saladin could not sit down before Constantinople with the advantages which the Ottoman monarchs possessed, the issue perhaps might have been different.

In tracing the history of Europe in its progress from barbarism to refinement, and in ac-

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counting for the various phenomena of the moral world, the philosophical observer of man reverts with anxious seriousness to the Crusades of the Latins in the east. Those transmarine expeditions so deeply convulsed the moral fabric of the west, they stand so prominent in the picture of former ages, that curiosity is awakened to the investigation, whether they left some lasting impression of good or of evil on the world. In the two hundred years of their continuance, Europe was making slow and silent advances in arts and civilization; and there were great changes of scene in the political theatre. Viewing then the natural union between principle and event, and guarding ourselves against the error of confounding chronological coincidences with moral connections, the inquiry is to be made into the consequences of the holy wars.*

A stamp of permanency was fixed on popular superstition when pilgrimages became a matter of public concern and national interest. At the same time also, they lost many of their original

* Like many other subjects of inquiry, the philosophy of history has had its alchymists. The search of a single cause of all effects has bewildered the brains of many reasoners. At one time it was the literary fashion to pay more homage to Bagdad than to Rome; and, with equal wisdom, many writers have ascribed all the civilization and learning of Europe to the Crusades.

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characteristics. Those religious journeys were only consistent with the Christian character, when they were performed in harmony with great and primary duties. They might have been considered the ornaments of a religious life if they had proceeded from holy sympathy; but when their essential merit was made to consist in the destruction of men, and trampling on the law of nations, their natural tendency was to indurate the heart, and brutalize the character. War became a sacred duty, and obligatory on every class of mankind. The fair face of religion was besmeared with blood, and heavenly attraction was changed for demoniacal repulsiveness. The Crusades encouraged the most horrible violences of fanaticism.* They were the precedent for the military contentions of the church with the Prussians and Albigenses; and as the execrable Inquisition arose out of the spirit of clerical dragooning, the wars in Palestine brought a frightful calamity on the world. Universal dominion was the ambition

* Independently of the Crusades of children, which the reader will find mentioned in note G G, there were two popular commotions in France during and after the thirteenth century, under pretence of crusading. In 1251 and 1320, certain fanatics raised popular assemblies for the avowed purpose of going to Jerusalem. Much blood was shed, and every species of lawlessness was committed. The Jews seem to have been the chief sufferers. Du Cange, Latin Glossary, article Pastorelli.

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of the Roman pontiffs; and the iniquity of the means was in dreadful accordance with the audacity of the project. The pastors of the church used anathemas, excommunications, interdicts, and every weapon in the storehouse of spiritual artillery: and when the world was in arms for the purpose of destroying infidels, it was natural that the soldiers of God should turn aside and chastise other foes to the true religion. Before the æra of hostilities in Palestine, among the objects of the military profession was the defence of the church. Thus the cavalier, in vociferating his profession of faith, brandished his sword, or touched the gospels with its point. The martial character of the religion of the eleventh century has been already mentioned as one great cause of the holy wars. Of itself it would naturally have led to aggressive hostility on heretics; and the popes would have called on the world to arm for such purposes, although the example of Palestine had not been before them. But we know that they did profit by the general disposition of the world to fight opinions, that the pardons and indulgences*

* The conduct of the Popes in the holy wars has been noticed in several parts of this work. The result seems to be, that at first the heads of union gained authority by encouraging religious wars, but that they afterwards lost it by their arrogance and avarice. M. Heeren wishes us to think, but appears afraid

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which were given to one description of religious warriors, were imparted to another, and that the tide of blood and fanaticism did not flow only through Saracenian lands. Crusades with idolators and erring Christians were considered as virtuous and as necessary as Crusades with Saracens; the south of France was saturated with heretical blood; and those booted apostles, the Teutonick knights, converted, sword in hand, the Prussians and Lithuanians from idolatry to Christianity.

The sword of religious persecution was not directed against Turks and heretics only. The reader remembers the sanguinary enormities that disgraced the opening of the first Crusade. Not only was this instance of persecution of the Jews the earliest one upon record in the annals of the west since the fall of the Roman empire, but it is also true that that wretched people met with most of their dreadful calamities during

openly to say, that the Crusades produced the Reformation. "Les Croisades firent aussi inventer les *indulgences*, dont l'abus "irrita Luther au seizième siècle, et amena la Réformation.— "Peut-on en conclure que les Croisades soient la cause de la "guerre des Hussites et de la Réformation de Luther?—On en "peut conclure seulement cette ancienne vérité, que tout est "étroitement lié dans la série des événemens qui forment les "destinées de notre espèce." Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades, p. 176. See p. 393, ante, note.

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the time of the holy wars. It is highly probable that the hatred which the Christians felt against them was embittered by that fierce and mistaken zeal for religion which gave birth to the Crusades; and as the chief object of those Crusades was the recovery of the sepulchre at Jerusalem, it was natural that the Christian belligerents should behold with equal detestation the nation which had crucified the Saviour, as the nation which continued to profane his tomb. This conjecture is much confirmed by the circumstance, that the prevailing prejudice in the middle ages against the Jews was, that they often crucified Christian children in mockery of the great sacrifice. If it be objected to this reasoning that the crusading Cœur de Lion befriended the Jews, I reply, that the crusading king Edward the First expelled them from England. The former prince was under the perfect dominion of a mere love of war, careless of the cause or object. The latter hero, on the contrary, was strongly influenced by the religious spirit of chivalry, and consequently a more complete instance of the crusading character than his lion-hearted ancestor.

The features of ferocity which religion assumed from the Asiatic contests, were not the only subject of evil. The penalties which the church inflicted on its members, as the temporal

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punishments of sin, might have been unwarranted by Scripture, and were, doubtless, often awarded by cruelty and caprice. But the practice of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, was in itself salubrious to the individual, and beneficial to society. It softened pride; it subdued the sensual passions; it diffused charity. Instead of these blessings, the slaughter of human beings was made the propitiation of offence; and the Christian virtues of self-denial and benevolence were considered an absurd and antiquated fashion. As the discipline of the church had been broken in upon for one purpose, it could be violated for another. The repentant sinner who could not take the cross himself, might contribute to the charge of the holy expedition. When offences were once commuted for money, the religious application of the price of pardon soon ceased to be necessary. Absolutions from penance became a matter of traffic, and holy virtues were discountenanced. For this reason, and for many others, the Crusades conferred no benefits on morals. The evils of a life free from domestic restraints, formed a strong argument against pilgrimages in very early ages of the church, and it does not appear that when the wanderers became soldiers their morals improved. The vices of the military colonists in Palestine are the burden of many a page of the

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crusading annalists. Something must be detracted from those representations in consequence of their authors' prejudice, that the vices of the Christians in the holy land effected the ruin of the kingdom. Yet enough remains to shew that the tone of morals was not at a higher pitch in Palestine than in Europe. The decrees of the council at Naplousa prove that a difference of religion, although a barrier against the dearest charities of life, was no impediment to a vicious sensual intercourse between the Franks and the Moslems. The Latins lived in a constant course of plunder on their Muselman neighbours, and therefore on their return to Europe could not spread around them any rays of virtue.*

Undoubtedly the Crusades augmented the wealth of the clergy. It cannot indeed be shown that the church derived pecuniary benefit from any malversation in its office of guardian

* See vol. i. p. 7.; 339, ante, note; vol. ii. p. 57 p. 335. note. The old romances give a faithful picture of the dress of the times, and with a dash of caricature, of the manners and morals too. In the entertaining romance of Le Renard, written in the thirteenth century, it is said, that foreign pilgrimages had done no good to any body, and that many good people had been made bad by them. Notices des MSS. du Roi, vol. 5, p 303. In tracing the history of morals, it is curious to observe, that Piers Ploughman speaks of pilgrims and palmers, who on their return have leave to tell lies all the rest of their lives.

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of the pilgrims' estates, and in the absence of proof, moral delinquency must not be inferred.* But the rapacious barons frequently plundered the clergy, and when afterwards they were brought to such a sense of religion as to resolve on a holy war, the restitution of ecclesiastical property became a necessary preliminary proceeding. Title deeds of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries abound with such restitutions. The passion of crusading extended to churchmen, but not with the same violence as it did to other classes, because the former possessed the larger share of sense and discretion. Accordingly the estates of the clergy were not much wasted in Palestine. The ecclesiastics therefore flourished more vigorously than other men; they took a high rank in society; and purchased the birth-rights of rash fiery enthu-

* In the legitimate exercise of their office of trustees and guardians, the clergy must of course have considerably augmented their wealth and influence. "Li Pontefici co'loro "brevi ricevettero sotto la protettione sua, e degli altre prelati "le case e li negotii de crocesignati, cosi si chiamavano quelli, "che andavano alla guerra, & questo apporto alle chiese "quell' accrescimento che suol apportare l'esser tutore curatore "ò procuratore di vedoue pupilli e minori, ne il magistrato se-"colare poteva pensar pur di difendere alcuno per il terrore "delle censure, all' hora s'adoperavano senza risparmio." P. Paolo, Trattato dell materie Beneficiare, vol. i. p. 119. Opere, 5 vol. 12mo. 1675.

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siasts who tried the hazard of fortune in the holy land.* CHAP. IX.

If, during the time of the Crusades, Europe had enjoyed a state of peace, it might have been supposed that the existence of that happiness was attributable to the fact that the unsettled humours of the land had found occupation for their inquietude in Palestine. But the good as well as the bad enlisted themselves under the glorious ensign of the cross, and Europe was injured by one circumstance as much as she was blessed by the other. The horrors of civil war were stayed, and the truce of God was observed for a few years subsequently to the departure of the first Crusaders: but afterwards civil and national hostilities raged with unceasing and unrelenting fury; and moreover the spirit of the Crusades fanned the flame of military daring. When once the sword was drawn, it became the arbitrator of domestic disputes as well as of foreign quarrel. The world was more warlike,

* The reader remembers that Godfrey of Bouillon sold many of his estates to the clergy. Robertson states, on authorities which I have not been able to examine, that in the year 1096 Baldwin count of Hainault mortgaged or sold part of his demesnes to the bishop of Liege. At a later period (A.D. 1239) Baldwin count of Namur made a similar disposition of some of his land to a monastery when he intended to assume the cross. Proofs and Illustrations, note 13, sec. 1. to the View of Society in Europe.

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and in some particulars more chivalric at the close of the Crusades than at their commencement. Inasmuch as they quickened military spirit and religious zeal, they had great influence on chivalry: and every true knight when he heard the Christian religion evil spoken of was prepared to defend it with his sword alone, which, according to the disposition of St. Louis, "he ought to thrust into the belly of his adver- "sary as far as it would go." One great support or mark of chivalry was mainly owing to the Crusades: I mean the military and religious orders which exist even in the present day. The union of religion and arms preceded, indeed, the martial journeys into Syria, and the formation of those societies which constitute "the cheap defence of nations" would have taken place even if there had been no holy wars.* But it is a historical fact, that on the dissolution of the order of knights Templars many new orders arose; so much of chivalry therefore as depends on those institutions, it may be said, was partly derived from the Crusades.

There is a charm in the expression "the days "of chivalry," which is felt and acknowledged

* By the operation of the same principle which gave rise to the news of St. John and the Temple, many orders were founded in Spain in the course of the twelfth century.

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even in "times of sophisters, and calculators, "and œconomists." The fancy dissipates a cloud of selfish and ignoble passions, and transporting itself to those remote ages which it gilds with the virtues of honour and courtesy, beholds the stately and polite cavalier, plated in habiliments of war, and bearing in his crested helm the glove of his mistress. We dwell with impassioned interest on "the fierce wars and "faithful loves" which moralized the songs of our early poets, and losing nothing of our veneration for the regular beauties of classical lore, we can admire the rich and luxurious ornaments, which the creative imagination of romance has thrown around the disinterestedness and gallantry, the dignity and pathos of chivalry. Tasso and Ariosto, Chaucer and Spenser, breathed the fragrance of enchanted regions, and Milton, generally so stern and sublime, did not disdain to hear the muses sing of "knights' "and lords' gentle deeds." "I will tell you," that majestic bard declares, "whither my "younger feet wandered: I betook me among "those lofty fables and romances which re- "count in solemn cantos the deeds of chi- "valry."* On the fair part of ancient war-

* Apology for Smectymnuus. Prose Works, vol. i. p. 224. 8vo. And in another place he says with equal enthusiasm:—

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fare the Crusades cast a baleful influence. That tenacious and delicate regard to veracity which was a great characteristic of the true knight, must have lost much of its sensitiveness by the habitual and systematic violations of faith with infidels. A liberal treatment of prisoners was another remarkable point in the chivalric character. So firm was the trust of cavaliers in each other's honour, that it was common for a victorious knight to suffer his captive to return to his own country, in order to collect his ransom. In the days of Richard and Saladin, some lofty and romantic feelings of generosity took from war many of its horrors, and the Turks even aspired to the distinction of Christian knighthood. But on most other occasions, as there was no common tie of religion between the two people, no principle mutually acknowledged, the cavaliers would place no trust in the word of men whom they either hated or despised. In some cases a pure thirst of glory and a generous love of renown impelled the European soldiers into the

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,
Phœbæos decorâsse viros qui tam bene nôrit,
Signandò indigenas revocatio in carmina reges,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem!
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos heroas. Mansus, 78-83.

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east: but bigotry and cruelty were the general and ruling passions of holy warriors. When, indeed, the knight was errant in Palestine, as the price of female smiles, the full effects of chivalry and of holy wars were similar. But these instances were comparatively rare. The western world precipitated itself into Asia from fanatical, not romantic motives; for purposes of savage destruction, not of that high-minded protection of women which the lawless state of society in Europe rendered necessary, and which was granted in consequence of the deep feelings of veneration with which the German ancestors of the cavaliers had always regarded the opposite sex.* Palestine was the land of religion, but not of love. The Crusaders were armed devotees rather than gentle knights. The reward of beauty was not joined with the praise of arms. The soldiers of the cross had all the heroism, but none of the polish, of knight-errantry, and the sword "leaped from its scabbard," not for the generous purpose of avenging the looks which threatened beauty with insult, but for the vile and rude office of striking off a Saracen's head. In Europe they

* Inesse quinetiam sanctum aliquid, et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt, &c. Tacitus, Germania, c. viii.

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fought for Heaven and the ladies; in Palestine, for Heaven only; and the spirit of military fanaticism was so much stronger than that of military gallantry, that many noble cavaliers, disdaining the soft collar of the gentle affections, aspired to high and austere virtues, and enrolled themselves in those martial fraternities, of which celibacy was the key, in order that the "lascivious pleasings of the lute" should be drowned in the roarings of the brazen throat of Paynim war.

It cannot be shown, that the condition of the people was ameliorated, or that the tyranny of the aristocracy was broken by the holy wars. Much blood and treasure were wasted; but in no greater ratio in one class of society than in another, for the epidemic ran through all ranks of people, and potentates and plebeians* made consentaneous movements and simultaneous exertions. However calamitous might have been the lot of individuals, yet it does not appear that families were ruined or became extinct in consequence of the Crusades. Religious madness was hereditary, and the reader of these volumes

* The papal authority for a Crusade operated as an act of temporary enfranchisement of every description of slaves: but such of them as returned from the holy wars resumed of course their old occupations; consequently Europe gained nothing by the matter.

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must have often remarked how frequently, though at distant intervals, members of the same family appeared on the scene. For example, the counts of St. Paul, Flanders, and Blois, of every generation, headed their well-appointed powers, and spread the bloody cross on Paynim ground. If the crown had been aggrandized by the holy wars, we might expect to find instances of it in the French monarchy particularly, because the valorous noblesse of France entered into the Crusades with more enthusiasm than other people, and because we know that the throne of that country was more powerful at the close of the thirteenth, than at the end of the eleventh, century.* In this long interval many of the grand fiefs were re-annexed to the crown. Artois was gained by marriage; the county of Alençon, by purchase. Vermandois and Valois were added to the dominion of Philip Augustus by the donation of the last possessor. The same prince acquired Normandy, Maine, Tou-

* It must be remembered, however, that Louis VII. lost the duchy of Guienne or Aquitain, after his return from the holy land. See vol. i. p. 389, ante. As the queen's infirmities were those of constitution, we can agree with M. Heeren, that it is probable she would not have treated her husband better in Europe than in Asia, and that, therefore, we can only account this event as accidentally connected with the Crusades. Essai sur l' Influence des Croisadés, p. 182, note.

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raine, Poitiers, and Anjou, because he profited by the imbecility of king John of England, and the divisions among the barons consequent on the circumstance, that some of them espoused the cause of Arthur, duke of Bretagne, and others, that of his uncle. Philip the Fair established his seignorial rights over Champagne, by virtue of his marriage with the heiress of that country. The fief of Macon, also, was united to the throne in the days of the Crusades. Not, however, in consequence of war, but because the last count and countess had no children, and the count sold it to St. Louis. The county of Perche, also a part of the Norman territories, followed, after some years, the fate of the parent state. The French crown regained the south of France partly by war, and partly by marriage. The county of Carcasson* was added to the monarchy by St. Louis, in the time of the contests with the Albigenses. Charles of Anjou, a brother of St. Louis, received with his wife the great dower of Provence,† and some years afterwards made a violent seizure of the Provençal marquisate,

* The counts of Carcasson seem to have divided with the counts of Tholouse all the territory which commonly goes under the name of the south of France.

† La gran dote Provenzale. Dante, Del Purg. xx. 61.

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and of all the estates* which appertained to the house of Tholouse. Except the county and city of Bourges, which a French king purchased from a crusading knight, no regal acquisitions of arrere fiefs proceeded from the holy wars. The French monarchs were early sensible of the advantages of obtaining arrere fiefs, and of becoming tenants to their own subjects. Only a few of such additions to power were made till the reign of Philip Augustus: and it seems, that when the sovereign acquired a grand fief, he generally purchased the arrere fiefs dependent on it.†

We are unaccustomed to think that the national and civil hostilities which raged in the west during the middle ages were favourable to intellectual cultivation, and it would be as difficult to prove that the holy wars were beneficial to Europe, by rousing it from intellectual torpidity, and strengthening or refining the tone of mind. They were times of action rather than of letters. They excited a cruel and

* See the catalogue and history of the grand fiefs of the French monarchy, in the second volume of l'Art de vérifier les Dates.

† See M. Dacier's treatise on the subject of the arrere fiefs of France, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

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savage courage, and lighted the consuming fires of superstition. Spoliation and slaughter were accounted the highest pitch of human glory, and, therefore, all that most merited fame was concealed in silence. The gentle notes of the Orphean lyre were unheard amidst the boisterous alarums of war. Modes for the destruction of men, not for their amelioration, employed the minds of Christians. The humble and unobtrusive virtues of peace, and their long train of useful and elegant arts, were not fostered; for tranquillity was perpetually broken in upon; the leaders of opinions made the duty of war their greatest theme, and when the indulgence of the ferocious passions became sanctified, no desire could be felt to emerge from rudeness and ignorance. Much has been written on the supposed advantages to Europe of the collision of minds produced by the mixture of the various nations of Christendom, in the course of the Crusades. But except in the first of these holy wars, the union among them was never either cordial or lasting. Indeed, dissensions were a main cause of ultimate want of success. The connection between different states was so short and occasional, that national prejudices were not softened, political varieties obliterated, or mutual knowledge interchanged.

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At the close of the Crusades, the nations of Europe were as much separated as they had been at the commencement. Religion had united them for awhile; but the band soon was broken, and the world returned to its former state.

The opinion which has been alluded to, cannot, perhaps, be opposed altogether; but there are many reasons which prevent us from ascribing to it much importance. The history of the times affords but few indications of any improvements that the religious soldiers brought home with them. The traveller studies the appearances of man and nature, and on his return, his native land becomes benefited by his curiosity and labours. The merchant is in quest of gain, and in the interchange of the productions of nature or industry, distant countries are brought into something like a social union: ideas are communicated, and taste and elegance must be cultivated as the supporters of those artificial wants which luxury and plenty have introduced. But if the pilgrim ever steps out of his course, it is only to collect with holy reverence those relics which his idolatrous fancy has sanctified, and the mere soldier can imbibe no ideas except those which are connected with his professional habits. The letters that enlighten, the sciences that improve, and the arts

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that polish life, are not in the intellectual sphere of either.*

Nor did the western Christians profit by their connection with the Greeks. Some love of ancient learning and arts must have existed, some literary sympathy was necessary, before the Latins could understand or appreciate the advantages of intellectual cultivation. Moreover, it was only for half a century subsequent to the fifth Crusade, that the intercourse with Constantinople was at all permanent. Before that time, large masses of people rolled over the Grecian empire; they gazed, perhaps, some with stupid admiration; more with secret contempt; and others made a cry of ignorant astonishment, at the exterior grandeur of the towers, and temples, and palaces, before them; but they paused

* Mr. Berington observes, with truth, "If it be still insisted "that some benefits in domestic, civil, or scientific knowledge "were necessarily communicated to Europe, either by the "expeditions themselves, or, at least, owing to our long abode "in the east, I ask, what those benefits were? or how it "happens, that the literary and intellectual aspect of Europe "exhibited no striking changes till other causes, wholly uncon-"nected with the Crusades, were brought into action? I believe, "then, that these expeditions were utterly sterile with respect "to the arts, to learning, and to every moral advantage, and "that they neither retarded the progress of the invading enemy, "nor, for a single day, the fate of the eastern empire." Literary History of the Middle Ages, p. 269.

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not to contemplate their beauties with the hope or wish of imitation; they were strangers to the language of Greece;* they despised the natives as an heretical and effeminate race; and they could brook no delay in worshipping the sepulchre, and killing the infidels. In the fifth expedition, when the storm of religious and national hatred burst upon Greece, the Latins, instead of beholding with the awe of classical enthusiasm the marbled and bronzed representations of ancient virtue and genius, destroyed the former, and coined the latter into drachmas. The savage conquerors of Constantinople carried, in mock procession, the pens and inkhorns of the vanquished. Even the tomb of the Ro-

* Neither did the Greeks know the Latin language. Some traces of it may be found in the ceremonial of the Byzantine court; but it was not much known beyond the cloister or the court. Before the great schism in the church, a free communication was kept up between the clergy of the west and east. The spirit of pilgrimizing was favourable to this intercourse. Some travelling monks brought the works of Origen into Europe in the fifth century. We have repeatedly seen in the course of this history, that the Crusades added new fuel to that theological hatred between the Greeks and Latins which other circumstances created, and that there was not the least disposition to a literary intercourse between the two people. "Il n'y a jamais eu de "nation qui ait porté une haine si violente aux hérétiques que "les Grecs, qui se croyoient souillés lorsqu'ils parloient à un "hérétique, ou habitoient avec lui." Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, chap. 21.

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man lawgiver was violated, and in the triple fire of the city, the incendiaries were never checked in their savage gratifications, by the dread lest the flames should devour some sacred remnant of the learning of Greece or Rome. The Latins, during the half century in which they were lords of the imperial city, did not adopt the letters of the subjugated people.* Indeed, it was not for many years posterior to the Crusades, and until some master spirits arose in Italy, that any serious or well connected attempts were made, to draw knowledge from its original fountains, or that the purity of its course through Arabic channels was suspected. Every one knows that the real revivers of Greek lite rature in the west were Petrarch and Boccacio. The latter established in Florence the earliest professor's chair in Europe, for the teaching of the Greek language.†

* Rigord, in his life of Philip Augustus, tells us that the metaphysics of Aristotle, translated into Latin, were carried to Paris after the sack of Constantinople. I know of no other book that the West received from the East, in consequence of the Latin reign over Greece. The conquerors despised the remains of literature; but they were diligent hunters after relics. Superstition received additional food by the sack of Constantinople, and every country of Europe for ages acknowledged its obligations.

† Cosi a due Calabresi Barlaamo e Leonzio e a due Fiorentini, cioe al Boccacio ben istruito in questa lingua, e al Petrarca, che

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In the time of the Crusades, the cloud of ignorance overspread both the east and the west. The glory as well as the power of the caliphs of Bagdad had long been extinguished, and the arts no longer flourished on the banks of the Tigris. Letters and science had run their appointed circle in the Saracenian empire. The Seljuk princes had, indeed, rekindled the torch of science, but it shed only some faint and momentary gleams, for the Tartars could not readily throw aside the conquering scymitar, and clothe themselves in weeds of peace. The Seljukian monarchy was dismembered before the Christians crossed the Hellespont, and the din of civil war in Asia Minor and Syria drove the muses from their peaceful seats.* More than two hundred years before the preaching of Peter the Hermit, the people of Europe had been awakened from their barbarism by the genius of the east. Arabic science had a

non n' ebbe che qualche tintura, ma pur fomentonne molto lo studio, dovette l' Italia il fervore, con cui si preserva ricercare e a studiare gli autori Greci. Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital. vol. xii. p. 294, edit. 1778.

* "The noise and disorders of wars," Sir William Temple elegantly says, "have ever been the most capital enemies of "the muses, who are seated, by the ancient fables, upon the "top of Parnassus; that is, in a place of safety and of quiet, "from the reach of all noises and disturbances of the regions "below." Works, vol. i. p. 167, fol. 1720.

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longer and more splendid sway in Spain than in Bagdad, and there was a struggle of several centuries' duration, between the Saracens and the Italians, for dominion over the isles in the Mediterranean. From these two causes the learning of the Arabians insensibly mingled with, and invigorated the western mind. The school of Salernum was founded in the ninth century by Charlemagne, and, under the auspices of that eminent man, the principal Arabic books, both originals and translations, were transfused into the Latin tongue, for the advantage of his people. In the tenth century, Gerbert, who was afterwards Pope Silvester the Second, acquired from the Spanish Moors the decimal scale, and his ambition of enlightening his flock was as strong as the ambition of many of his holy successors of sinking them into darkness. The monastery of Cassino was the great seat of letters in the eleventh century, and the religious inhabitants of that place claimed pre-eminence on account of their acquisition of Arabic learning. The stream of knowledge flowed through Europe during all the time of the Crusades; but there is no evidence that new sources of literature were opened, or that mind received any scientific stimulus by the expeditions into Palestine. Piety or valour, and not a learned

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curiosity, drove people from Europe to Jerusalem. The spear and shield were seldom idly suspended, for *bellum ad internicionem* was accounted the high duty of the oriental Latins. In the adjacent Muselman towns there were few of those literary institutions which had ennobled the Abassidan caliphate. Some embers of learning might be found at Bagdad, but it does not appear that, in the breathing intervals of peace, there was much communication between that city and Jerusalem. Neither were there any mental affinities, nor any sympathetic attraction between the warriors of Christendom and those of Islamism. If the soldiers of Palestine were ever diverted from slaughter and rapine to the practice of any mild and virtuous actions, it was to deeds of charity and the duties of the cloister; and, as if it were necessary that the duties of the soldier and the priest should wholly engross the soul, they did not scruple to boast that they were rude and unlettered. The collecting of relics seems to have been the favourite occupation of the Crusaders when they relaxed from the labours of extermination; accordingly, the western world was deluged by corporeal fragments of departed saints, and every city had a warehouse of the dead. Except Constantine Afar, who travelled over Asia in search of knowledge, European students

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repaired to Cassino, Salernum, or to Spain. Peter, the abbot of Clugni, acquired the Arabic language at Toledo; and, under his patronage, an English student in Spain, prepared the first Latin version of the Koran that ever was made. Adelard of Bath, Daniel Morley, and Robert of Reading, are the names of some other Englishmen "honoured in their generations," for their acquaintance with mathematics and philosophy gained in the Spanish peninsula. Beithar, Averroes, and Avenpace, were Arabs whose works gave a tone and character to the intellect of Europe; and these three men were African or Spanish Moors. Equal in reputation with them were Al Gazel and Avicenna; the former lived at Bokhara in Tartary, and the latter at Bagdad. Copies of the works of these two great writers might *possibly* have been transmitted to Europe by the Christians in Palestine: but we *know* that they were devoutly studied in Spain, and that all the Arabic Spanish knowledge was communicated to every part of the west. The south of France was always more enlightened than the north; for Marseilles and other commercial towns never entirely lost that polish of civilization, which they had received, by reason of their connection with the great states of antiquity: and their continued habits of commerce made them rich and luxurious. When,

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therefore, Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona, acquired the throne of Provence, his new subjects were well fitted to receive the Arabic notions of taste and elegance which he introduced from Spain. But still a great cause of the diffusion of oriental imagery and oriental apologues over the literature of the west, was unquestionably owing to the intercourse between Asia and Europe, occasioned by pilgrimages, crusades, and commerce. The minstrels, who were the successors of the northern scalds, travelled to Palestine both before and during the holy wars. When, for instance, Louis VII. went into the east, he was accompanied by "Legions de Poetes," to "charm "the seas to give him gentle pass,"* and to solace him with their songs during the dangers and inconveniences of so long a voyage.†

* Warton's beautiful opening to his Ode called The Crusade, is applicable here.

"Bound for Holy Palestine,
"Nimbly we brush'd the level brine,
"All in azure steel array'd;
"O'er the wave our weapons play'd,
"And made the dancing billows glow;
"High upon the trophied prow,
"Many a warrior-minstrel swung
"His sounding harp, and boldly sung."

† Warton, History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 111. The Jesuit Claude François Menestrier, no less renowned for his

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It was merely agreeable fictions that were communicated; nothing but what might be gained from a short and casual intercourse. The circumstance of Muselmans aspiring to the dignity of chivalry, is a subject, indeed, of the Trouveurs, or poets of the north of France, who flourished from the close of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century. But the wars between the Christians and infidels in the holy land form no part of their theme. Those Italian novels which constitute much of the basis of the

love of the theatre and all manner of public shows, than for the capacity of his memory and the variety of his learning, contends that it is certain that pilgrimages introduced the theatrical spectacles of old times, called the Mysteries. The pious itinerants dissipated the languor of the voyage by composing and singing songs relating to the subjects of their expedition. Troops of these pilgrims, after their return to France and other places, went about different towns, repeating these songs; and the citizens, sympathizing with their enthusiasm, erected theatres, whereon, upon festival days, the mysteries of religion were represented. Bayle, Dict. art. Chocquet. Bayle has received this story without examination, and Boileau has put it into very elegant verses. See his Art of Poetry, cant. 3. Every person acquainted with French literature, knows the disposition of continental writers to magnify the consequences of the Crusades. With respect to the present question, it is only necessary for me to say, that the events in sacred history were dramatized and acted by the monks anterior to the holy wars: and I refer my readers for proofs of this assertion, to Warton, Percy, and other writers on the origin of the Mysteries.

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Decamerone of Boccacio are likewise barren of crusading events: but if it be true that many of those novels were drawn from the Fabliaux of the Trouveurs, we cannot expect to find in the copy what does not exist in the original. The bright days of Troubadour song were also coeval with the Crusades. The Provençal poets sometimes emerged from the mystics of love* to excite the zeal of princes and subjects for the recovery of the holy land. Occasionally and accidentally Palestine was the scene of their romantic passion.† As the Crusades were wild

* Such as the difficult question, whether a lover had rather behold his mistress dead, or married to his successful rival. Every deep and delicate subject was discussed in the *courts of love* with the greatest solemnity, and with all the abstractions of metaphysical refinement; "and it is probable," a polite author observes, "that the disputes on these subjects would have pro-"duced as many heresies in love as in religion, but that the "judgment-seat in the tribunals was filled by ladies, whose "decision was very properly admitted to be final and absolute. "It should seem that the Provençals were so completely ab-"sorbed in these abstract speculations, as to neglect and despise "the composition of fabulous histories, only four of which are "attributed to the Troubadours; and even these are rather "legions of devotion than of chivalry." Preface to the Fa-"bliaux, p. 26.

† One Troubadour, Geoffrey Rudel, died for the charms of an imaginary mistress. He became, says Warton, enamoured from fancy of the countess of Tripoli, whom he had never seen. He embarked for the east; fell sick during the voyage, through

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and romantic adventures, it might be expected that they would have formed the great topic of popular fiction. But, excepting the romance concerning Richard, and another relating to Godfrey, the Crusades are not the subject of

the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore half expiring. The countess, having heard the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore, and took him by the hand: he opened his eyes, and at once overpowered by disease and gratitude, had but just time to say, inarticulately, "that having seen her he died satisfied." The countess caused him to be magnificently buried among the knights Templars, was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun.

This history may bring to the reader's recollection another equally romantic and dreadful, which is told of Ralph, Chatelain de Coucy, who went with the Lord de Coucy to the holy land in the third Crusade, and who was mortally wounded at the siege of Acre. In his last moments he bequeathed his heart to his mistress, who was a married woman (a fashionable sort of attachment in the twelfth century as well as in the nineteenth). The husband met the messenger, and seized the precious relic. His mode of revenge was not more gross than was the love of the Chatelain. His cooks dressed the heart, and it was placed at the family board. Unluckily for herself, the lady, not being a square-elbowed family drudge, never interfered with culinary details, and knew not that the banquet was of the Thyestean description. She partook freely of the heart, whose genuine taste, like that of the young Saracen's head eaten by Richard, was disguised by "spicery powder and saffron." Her malignant lord then told her of the dreadful mistake which she had made. Out of grief and indignation she vowed that no other food should ever pass her lips; and she continued firm to her purpose till her life closed.

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the romances of chivalry.* The victories of Arthur and Charlemagne were still dwelt upon, though the brilliant achievements of holy warriors were before the writers. The fame of the latter had not transcended the glory of the former. This love of ancient chivalry influenced the courts of princes as well as the haunts of poets; and it was the reputation of Arthur, not that of Godfrey, which Edward III. wished to emulate, and in honour of whom he kept a round table of knights. And afterwards the favourite subject of the epic muse of Italy was the war between Charlemagne and the Saracens in Spain and the southern provinces of France. This was the great event which poetry adorned with her choicest fictions, and where chivalry shone in all its splendour.

* "Nothing can be worse founded than the assertion of "Warburton and Warton, that, after the holy wars a new set "of champions, conquests and countries, were introduced into "romance; and that Soliman, Noureddin, with the cities of "Palestine and Egypt, became the favourite topics. Mr. Ritson "has justly remarked, that no such change took place as is pre-"tended; and so far from the Crusades and holy land becoming "favourite topics, there is not, with the exception of the unin-"teresting romance of Godfrey of Bouillon, a single tale of "chivalry founded on any of these subjects. Perhaps those "celebrated expeditions, undertaken for the recovery of the "holy land, were too recent, and too much matters of real life, "to admit the decorations of fiction."—Dunlop, History of Fiction, vol. ii. p. 140, 2d edit.

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The last point of inquiry into the consequences of the holy wars, concerns their effects on the political relations of the great European states. As the Crusades were carried on for holy objects, not for civil or national ends, their connection with politics could only have been collateral and indirect. The spirit of crusading, composed as it was of superstition and military ardour, was hostile to the advancement of knowledge and liberty; and, consequently, no improvement in the civil condition of the kingdoms of the west could have been the legitimate issue of the principles of the holy wars. The Pope was the only monarch who mixed politics with his piety; and if Frederic II. had died in the holy land, or the Pope had executed his schemes of ambition, then the Asiatic annals would have become closely connected with the history of Germany and Italy. The other princes seem to have been influenced by the spirit of religion or of chivalry; and it was only in the attempts again to disorder the intellect of Europe, that we find one monarch, Henry IV. of England, acting the part of a crafty politician. Great changes in the political aspect of Europe were coeval with, but were not occasioned by, the holy wars. The power of the French crown was much higher at the end of the thirteenth, than it had been at the same period of the ele-

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venth century; but the influence of the imperial throne was materially depressed. These opposite effects could never have been the simple results of the same cause: namely, the loss of the flower of the western aristocracy in Palestine. The hereditary succession of the French monarchy had been made a fundamental law in the time of Hugh Capet. Unlike Germany, therefore, the nobles of France were not aggrandized by the possession of the elective franchise. The Capetian monarchs acquired many great and small fiefs, not on account of the absence or death of the barons in the holy wars, but, as we have seen, in consequence of circumstances totally unconnected with the Crusades. The causes of the depression of imperial authority were the aggrandizement of the nobles (a natural effect of the feudal system); the improvident grants of lands which the Suabian family made to the clergy; the contests between the Popes and emperors respecting their different jurisdictions, and, above all the rest, the destructive wars which the emperors waged in the north of Italy for the re-annexation of that country to the throne of the descendants of the imperial house of Charlemagne. The political changes in England cannot with justice be attributed to the Crusades. Until the days of Richard I. holy wars had not become a

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general or a national concern. The monarchy stood the same at the close of his reign as at its commencement; and the only favourable issue of Cœur de Lion's armament was an increase of military reputation. His renunciation of feudal sovereignty over Scotland had no influence on politics. Edward I. pressed his claim, although Richard had deprived him of his strongest support. The pusillanimous John assumed the cross; but that circumstance did not occur until after he had surrendered his crown to the papal see, and until the barons had formed a confederacy against him. His assumption of the cross neither retarded nor accelerated the progress of English liberty. The Pope was not linked to him by stronger ties than those which had formerly bound them; and the barons were not deceived by the religious hypocrisy of the king. The transmarine expeditions of the earls of Cornwall and Salisbury, and of prince Edward in the reign of Henry III., were the ebullitions of religious and military ardour, but did not affect the general course of events.

The great political circumstance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which was important above all others to civil liberty, was the appearance of free and corporate towns. But the Crusades neither produced their establishment,

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nor affected their history. Whenever any part of the public became more rich and enlightened than the rest, the tyranny of the aristocracy was found to be insupportable. The kings of France and England eagerly assisted the burghers of their respective countries, and enfranchised the towns in order to raise a barrier against baronial aggressions on the throne. In France it became a maxim, that no commune could be formed without the king's consent, and his officers were established in every town. The free cities in Germany acknowledged some feudal rights in the emperor. The Alps separated the Lombard towns from their liege lords, and the dissimilarity of natural situation was highly favourable to the Italians, who were, moreover, encouraged in rebellion by the Pope, happy of any occasion of humbling the emperor. After various vicissitudes of fortune, the battle of Legnano, and the peace of Constance, established the independence of the towns in the north of Italy. The Crusades did not contribute to these events; for the two sacred expeditions which had taken place were as disastrous to peasants as to princes, and drained Europe of all ranks of society. Consequently it was not from the holy wars that the people gained their liberties. We find that so ill regulated was the liberty of the towns alluded to, that

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anarchy soon succeeded. Men of personal importance and wealth aspired to sovereign honours; an overwhelming aristocracy extinguished freedom, and at the end of the thirteenth century there were as many princes in Tuscany and Lombardy as there had been free towns at the end of the twelfth.* It is only in the maritime cities of Italy that any indisputable influence of the Crusades can be marked. Trade with the Christian states in Palestine, and the furnishing of transports to the pilgrims, increased the wealth of the commercial cities.† The capture of Constantinople by the French and Venetians was important in its issues. Venice regained maritime ascendancy: but it was soon taken from her by the Genoese, who aided the Greeks to recover their capital. Genoa then became a leading power in the Mediterranean, and she subdued Pisa. The rapid increase of the wealth and power of Venice and Genoa, and the eventual destruction of Pisa seem, then, to form the principal circumstances in commercial

* Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. ch. iii. part i.

† Muratori, Antiq. Italiæ. Med. Ævi, II. 905. James de Vitry mentions several sources of Italian wealth, during the Crusades. "Homines si quidem Italici terræ sanctæ sunt valde "necessarii, non solum in præliando, sed in navali exercitio, in "mercimonium, in peregrinis, et victualibus deportandis," &c. lib. i. c. 67.

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history which the Crusades were instrumental in producing. But how insignificant were these events, both locally and generally, both in their relation to Italy and to the general history of Europe, when compared with the discovery of a maritime passage to India!

A view of the heroic ages of Christianity, in regard to their grand and general results, is an useful and important, though a melancholy employment The Crusades retarded the march of civilization, thickened the clouds of ignorance and superstition; and encouraged intolerance, cruelty, and fierceness. Religion lost its mildness and charity; and war its mitigating qualities of honour and courtesy. Such were the bitter fruits of the holy wars! Painful is a retrospect of the consequences; but interesting are the historical details of the heroic and fanatical achievements of our ancestors. The perfect singularity of the object, the different characters of the preachers and leaders of the Crusades, the martial array of the ancient power and majesty of Europe, the political and civil history of the Latin states in Syria, the military annals of the orders of St. John and the Temple, fix the regard of those who view the history of human passions with the eyes of a philosopher or a statesman. We can follow with sympathy both the deluded fanatic, and the noble adven-

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CHAP. IX.

turer in arms, in their wanderings and marches through foreign regions, braving the most frightful dangers, patient in toil, invincible in military spirit. So visionary was the object, so apparently remote from selfish relations, that their fanaticism wears a character of generous virtue. The picture, however, becomes darkened, and nature recoils with horror from their cruelties,* and with shame from their habitual folly and senselessness. Comparing the object with the cost, the gain proposed with the certain peril, we call the attempt the extremest idea of madness, and wonder that the western world should for two hundred years pour forth its blood and treasure in chase of a phantom. But the Crusades were not a greater reproach to virtue and wisdom, than most of those contests which in every age of the world pride and ambition have given rise to. If what is perpetual be natural, the dreadful supposition might be entertained that war is the moral state of man. The miseries of hostilities almost induce us to think, with the ancient sage, that man is the most wretched of animals. Millions of our race have been sacrificed at the altar of glory and popular praise, as well as at the shrine of superstition. Fanciful claims to foreign

* Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

Lucretius, I. 102.

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thrones, and the vanity of foreign dominion have, like the Crusades, contracted the circle of science and civilization, and turned the benevolent affections into furious passions. But

> They err, who count it glorious to subdue
> By conquest far and wide, to over-run
> Large countries, and in field great battles win,
> Great cities by assault: What do these worthies,
> But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
> Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
> Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
> Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
> Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
> And all the flourishing works of peace destroy.*

We feel no sorrow at the final doom of the Crusades, because in its origin the war was iniquitous and unjust. "THE BLOOD OF MAN "SHOULD NEVER BE SHED BUT TO REDEEM THE "BLOOD OF MAN. IT IS WELL SHED FOR OUR "FAMILY, FOR OUR FRIENDS, FOR OUR GOD, FOR "OUR KIND. THE REST IS VANITY, THE REST "IS CRIME."†

* Paradise Regained, book iii. 71, &c. † Burke.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note (L).—Page 50.

WHAT has been written in several of the last pages respecting the count of Tripoli, rests chiefly on the authority of the chronicle of events in the holy land, contained in the fifth vol. of Martenne. The author was Ralph Coggeshal, who was in Palestine at the battle of Tiberias, and is apparently a very faithful historian. See too the few last pages of William of Tyre, and Plagon's continuation. The archbishop declares that Guy de Lusignan was unfit for the office of regent; but he speaks well of the count of Tripoli. The English and French writers, who lived at a distance, and could only write from report, mention, sometimes with hesitation, and at other times with positiveness, foul charges of treason against Raymond. It is most likely that these calumnies sprang from the grand master of the Templars, the enemy of the count of Tripoli. It is agreed, that Baldwin the Leper gave the regency to Raymond, and left the settlement of the ladies' claims to the decision of the sovereigns of the west. Guy de Lusignan was an usurper; and, as we have seen, he was aided in his usurpation by Joscelyn de Courtenay and the ruler of the Templars. The latter advised the battle of Tiberias; the Christian

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cause was ruined, and the knight turned the blame from himself to a man whom he hated. The preceding intercourse between Saladin and Raymond gave the charge credit. The Arabic writers invariably describe the count of Tripoli as a most formidable enemy of the Muselmans, and there is not a passage in their works which justifies the charges of the Templars. I was led to this view of the subject from perusing the facts and remarks collected and made by the most learned Maurite monks, in their excellent History of Languedoc, vol. ii. n. 56. It may not be thought, however, that the conduct of any of the different men in question was the real cause of the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the time of Saladin's invasion of Palestine, his power was so enormous, that he could overwhelm and annihilate the petty Latin state; and so great was his hatred of the Christian name, that he certainly would not have waited for his enemy giving him cause to exercise his fanaticism.

Note (M).—Page 63.

"Having promised the Croises great success, in the "name of the Lord, and finding them soundly banged "and utterly discomfited, he wrote an apology for "himself, justifying his promises, and laying the fault "entirely on the vices of the Croises. You never "knew a fanatic pretending to prophecy, who ever "blushed when his predictions came to nought, or "ever was at a loss for some paltry subterfuge in his "own vindication." Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 231.—"Au lieu d'avouer de "bonne foi qu'il avoit été trompé le premier, il se

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" sauva dans la pitoyable asyle des promesses condi-
" tionelles, faisant entendre que quand il avoit prédit
" que le croisade seriot heureuse, c'étoit en sous-
" entendant comme une condition nécessaire que les
" croisez n'offenseroient point le bon Dieu par le dé-
" règlement de leurs mœurs. Avouez-moi que c'est
" se moquée du monde, que de s'ériger en prophête,
" pour prédire ce qui n'arrivera jamais, et pour ne
" pas dire un seul mot de ce qui arrivera effective-
" ment. Ou il ne falloit pas que S. Bernard se me-
" last de prédire l'avenir, ou il devoit prédire les
" désordres effectifs dans lesquelles les croisez tom-
" bèrent au lieu de leur promettre des victoires imagi-
" naires qui ne devoient jamais arriver."—Bayle, Pensées diverses, tome ii. p. 780. Rotterdam, 1683.

Note (N).—Page 81.

For the third crusade, the materials are rich and ample. I have gained much from my old guides, Bernardus the treasurer, James de Vitry, the anonymous history of Jerusalem in Bongarsius, Nicetas, M. Paris, and Herold, one of the continuations of William of Tyre. The circumstances of the emperor Frederic's crusade are told in the annals of Godfrey the monk, Tageno, and the history of the expedition of Barbarossa, by an anonymous but contemporary writer. Rigord's History of Philip Augustus furnished me with a few particulars; but my great leader was the Itinerary of Richard to the Holy Land, by Jeffrey of Vinesauf, contained in the second volume of Gale's important collection of English historians. Vinesauf is highly praised by Leland; but some caution is necessary in

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reading the work of a man, who equals Richard to Ulysses in eloquence, and to Nestor in wisdom. Hovedon's book is principally valuable for its state papers, and its reaching to a later time than the work of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, which Hoveden has often abridged, and Bromton has merely transcribed. William of Newborough is an author next in merit, I think, to Malmsbury. His narrative is in the style of a history, and not of a mere chronicle. For my Arabic authorities, Abulfeda continues useful, but my greatest reliance is placed upon Bohadin, the friend and historian of Saladin. M. Michaud, author of the French History of the Crusades, now in the course of publication, has had access to the Latin translations which the late Father Berthéreau, a Maurite monk, made from various Arabic manuscripts. Except in one case, which I shall mention when it occurs, they appear to be of very little value. They throw no new light on the general history, and only re-assert facts which have already been amply proved.

Note (O).—Page 83.

Though the history of the reciprocal state of the Greeks and Latins cannot be admitted into a work which, like the present, is only a supplement or appendix to national histories, yet I may be allowed to *remind* my reader, that from very early times there were greater animosities between the Greeks and Latins than between any two countries of Europe or Asia. The people of Greece and Constantinople hated those of the west, as descendants of the ferocious savages who had extinguished the power of classic Rome in

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Europe. The Greeks were proud of their learned and potent ancestors, and despised all other nations as rude and ignorant. The martial Latins held in equal contempt the luxurious and effeminate Greeks. In the sixth century the bishops of Jerusalem and Constantinople were elevated to the dignity of patriarchs, and were equal to the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch: yet the patriarch of Rome had always precedence of the patriarch of Constantinople, agreeably to the custom of revering the majesty of the republic, and of the consul of the west preceding the consul of the east. But the ecclesiastical governors of the two greatest cities of the world soon considered each other as rivals, and contended for power. In the end the bishop of Rome was more potent than the bishop of Constantinople, because, Italy being deserted by its Greek lords, the Pope became a temporal monarch as well as a spiritual guide, and because Europe was not, like Asia, unchristianized by the Muselmans. In the eighth century the Christian world was divided into two great factions, on the subjects of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the worship of images. In the eleventh century the Greeks widened the breach, by accusing the Latins of various acts and opinions of heresy. The latter used unleavened bread in the holy supper; they confined themselves to one single immersion in the rite of baptism; their bishops wore rings like bridegrooms, kept sabbaths, and did not refrain from things strangled, and from blood. Notwithstanding the violence of national and religious hatred, the emperors of Constantinople frequently indulged the hope of being able to unite the crowns of the west and east. Manuel Comnenus gained

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the friendship of the Pope, formed for himself and children matrimonial connections with Latin princes, and entrusted Frenchmen with high official charges. This attachment to the Latins was odious and detestable in the eyes of his own subjects. The Greeks dissembled for a while their feelings; but at length the concealed rage and fury of many centuries burst into a flame. The natives of Constantinople arose in arms, burnt the quarters of the city where the strangers resided, massacred most of those who escaped the flames, and dragged through the dirt the head of the papal legate tied to a dog's tail. Four thousand Latins were sold for slaves to the Turks; some others escaped in their ships, and, in the course of their return to Italy, made the harmless provincials suffer for the crimes of the metropolis. The massacre of the Latins at Constantinople happened about six years before the third Crusade. But the providing materials for the luxury of a great city was so tempting to minds occupied in the pursuit of wealth, and the Italians were so much more industrious than the Greeks, that the Pisans and other people again became residents in Constantinople, and the fierce passions of the nations gradually gave way to sensuality and licentiousness. But the clergy were inexorable; and when Barbarossa was in the Grecian territories, they preached, though without much success, the justice of destroying the heretics.

Note (P).—Page 104.

In a short time the king became convalescent; and, according to the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, the first symptom of his recovery was a violent long-

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ing for pork. Of course it was difficult to procure swine's flesh in a Muselman country. But

An old knight, with Richard biding,
When he heard of that tiding,
That the kingis wants were swyche,
To the steward he spake privyliche:
" Our lord the king sore is sick, I wis,
" After pork he alonged is;
" Ye may none find to sell;
" No man be hardy him so to telle!
" If he did, he might die.
" Now behoves to done as I shall say,
" That he wete naught of that,
" Takes a Saracen young and fat;
" In haste let the thief be slain,
" Opened, and his skin off flayn,
" And sodden, full hastily,
" With powder and with spicery,
" And with saffron of good colour.
" When the king feels thereof savour,
" Out of ague if he be went,
" He shall have thereto good talent,
" When he has a good taste,
" And eaten with a good repast,
" And supped of the *brewis** a sup
" Slept after and swet a drop,
" Thorough Godis help, and my counsail,
" Soon he shall be as fresh and hail."
The sooth to say, at wordes few,
Slain and sodden was the heathen shrew.
Before the king it was forth brought:
Quod his men, " Lord, we have pork sought,

* Broth.

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" Eates and suppes of the brewis *soote* *
" Thorough grace of God it shall be your boot."
Before king Richard carff a knight,
He ate faster than he carve might.
The king ate the flesh, and *gnew*† the bones,
And drank well after for the nonce.
And when he had eaten enough,
His folk hem turned away, and *lough*.‡
He lay still, and drew in his arm;
His chamberlain him wrapped warm.
He lay and slept, and swet a stound,
And became whole and sound.
King Richard clad him and arose,
And walked abouten in the close.

Sometime afterwards, in a dainty mood, the king desired that the swine's head should be dressed.

Quod the cook, " That head Ine have."
Then said the king, " So God me save,
" But I see the head of that swine,
" For sooth thou shalt lessen thine !"
The cook saw none other might be;
He fet the head, and let him see.
He fell on knees, and made a cry,
Lo here the head, my lord, mercy.
The *swarte vis*§ when the king seeth,
His black beard and white teeth,
How his lippes grinned wide,
" What devil is this ?" the king cried,
And gan to laugh as he were wode.
What ! is Saracen's flesh thus good ?
That, never erst, I nought wist !
By Gode's death, and his up-rist,

* Sweet. † Gnawed. ‡ Laughed. § Black face.

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Shall we never die for default,
While we may, in any assault,
Slee Saracens, the flesh may take,
And seethen, and rosten, and do hem bake.
And gnawen her flesh to the bones!
Now I have proved it once,
For hunger eke I be wo,
I and my folk shall eat mo.

On the occasion of an entertainment which he gave to some Saracenian embassadors, he commanded his marshal to strike off the heads of an equal number of Muselman prisoners of high rank, and deliver them to the cook, with instructions to clear away the hair, and, after boiling them in a caldron, to distribute them on several platters, one to each guest, observing to fasten on the forehead of each the piece of parchment expressing the name and family of the victim. A head was also to be brought for Richard, and he would eat thereof,

As it were a tender chick,
To see how the others would like.

Every thing took place according to order. The embassadors were shocked at the repast, and astonished at the king, who swallowed the morsels as fast as they could be supplied by the knight who carved them.

Every man then poked other;
They said, "This is the devil's brother,
"That slays our men, and thus hem eats."

The table was then cleared, and covered again with a proper dinner. Richard then courteously relieved

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their fears respecting their own personal safety, apologized to them for what had passed, which he attributed entirely to his ignorance of their taste, and added,

King Richard shall warrant,
There is no flesh so nourissant
Unto an English man,
Partridge, plover, haron, ne swan,
Cow ne ox, sheep ne swine,
As the head of a Sarezyn.
There he is fat, and thereto tender;
And my men be lean and slender.
While any Saracen quick be,
Livand now in this Syrie;
For meat will we nothing care,
Abouten fast we shall fare,
And every day we shall eat
All so many as we may get.
To England will we nought gon,
Till they be eaten every one.

According to Warton, there are three printed editions of this romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, one in 8vo. by Winken de Worde, in 1509; another by him in 4to. 1528, and a third by W. C. no date. Of the second, there is a copy in the Bodleian (c. 39, art. Selden), in which there is no account of the savage meal which Richard made of the Saracens, and the feasts of the embassadors. The circumstance of these omissions adds force to the opinion, that the tale of the crusade of Richard was altered in various ways by the lying minstrels, and that there is no perfect standard of this romance. See Ellis's Specimens of Metrical Romances, vol. ii. p. 172. From Mr. Ellis's

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version I have extracted my account of the Saracenian pork story.

Note (Q).—Page 111.

Vinesauf, iii. 19, iv. 2, 4, and 6. Benedict, 674. Bohadin, cap. 115, p. 183. The soldiers of Richard's crusade did not materially differ from their predecessors—et aurum et argentum multum invenerunt in visceribus eorum (Paganorum)—*et fel eorum usui medicinali servaverun!* Hemingford (p. 531) states sixteen hundred as the number of prisoners destroyed by Richard, and Bohadin (cap. 115) estimates them at three thousand. Hoveden (p. 698) says, that five thousand captives were slain by the king and the duke of Burgundy. Vinesauf sets them down at two thousand seven hundred. He seems ashamed of his master's ferocity, and is obliged to hazard the supposition, that Richard killed the Muselmans out of his great zeal for the glory of Christianity, and his hatred of Islamism. Saladin did not forget this act of barbarity, and, in revenge, he slew all the Christians whom the chances of war threw into his hands.

Exercising the privilege of poetical exaggeration, the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion says, that Richard gave orders for the execution of sixty thousand captives.

> They were led into the place full even,
> There they heard angels of heaven;
> They said, "Seigneurs, tuez, tuez,
> "Spares hem nought, and beheadeth these!"
> King Richard heard the angel's voice,
> And thanked God and the holy cross.

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The author of the romance, Mr. Ellis says, considering that murder, conducted on so grand a scale, at the expense of unbelievers, and expressly enjoined by angels, could not fail of communicating great pleasure to the reader, has here introduced the following episodical description of Spring.

Merry is, in time of May,
When fowlis sing in her lay.
Floweres on apple-trees and perry;
Small fowles sing merry.
Ladies strew her bowers
With red roses and lilly flowers.
Great joy is in frith and lake;
Beast and bird plays with his mate;
The damiseles lead dance;
Knights play with shield and lance;
In justs and tournaments they ride;
Many a case hem betide!
Many chances and strokes hard!
So befell to King Richard.

Note (R).—Page 119.

During the siege of Acre the duke of Austria took one of the enemy's towers, and placed his banner upon it. Richard, as supreme commander, was indignant at this assumption of superiority, and threw the flag into a ditch. The historical fact, of the haughty duke's refusal to work, is thus curiously mentioned in the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion.

" My father n'as mason ne carpenter;
" And though your walls should all to shake,
" I shall never help hem to make."

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The irascible monarch was incensed to the highest pitch of fury.

> The duke with his foot he smot,
> Against the breast, God it wot,
> That on a stone he him overthrew;
> It was evil done, by St. Matthew.

He at the same time ordered him to depart instantly, with his vassals, from the Christian camp, threatening to break his standard, and throw it into the river; and while the duke retired, muttering projects of vengeance, which he afterwards too successfully executed, Richard continued to follow him with imprecations, exclaiming—

> ——" With voice full steep,
> " Home, shrew! coward! and sleep!
> " Come no more, in no wise,
> " Never oft in God's service."
>
> Ellis's Specimens of Met. Rom. vol. ii. p. 263.

Note (S.)—Page 122.

The murderers were taken and tortured. Bromton (col. 1243) says nothing certain could be gained from them. Hoveden (p. 717) and Vinesauf (whom that excellent compiler Sanudo has followed) make them declare, that they murdered Conrad in revenge for an injury which he had done their master. But Bohadin (c. 144) affirms that they said they were employed by Richard. Against the testimony of this Arabic writer must be placed that of another Arabic historian, namely, the continuator of Tabary, who says (according to father Berthereau, cited in Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, II. 422) that the murderers, when

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under the hands of the executioner, would not confess the names of those who had employed them. The same author says that Saladin offered ten thousand pieces of gold to the old man of the mountain, if he would assassinate the marquis of Tyre and the king of England; but that the prince of the assassins did not think proper to deliver Saladin entirely from the Franks, and therefore performed only a moiety of what was required of him. The generosity of Richard to Conrad is admitted in Sicard's Chronicle, cited in l'Art de vérifier les Dates, 1. 449, and it seems that Conrad, with his dying breath, recommended his wife to surrender Tyre to Richard. There is great good sense in Hollingshed's remark. He is the only witness who shall "speak to character."—"And verily "it is most likely that king Richard would have been "loth to have communicated his purpose unto such a "wicked kind of Pagans as the assassins were, if he "had pretended any such matter: but rather would "have sought his revenge by some other means."

Note (T).—Page 125.

This history of the circumstances respecting the Christians giving up the attack on Jerusalem I have taken from Vinesauf, V. 54. VI. 1, 2, 7. Another class of writers have attributed the loss of the object of the crusade to the selfishness or national feelings of the duke of Burgundy. Some have charged him with taking the bribes of Saladin; others make him refuse co-operation with Richard, lest Richard should have all the honour of the conquest of Jerusalem. It was true that the French were more numerous than the English; but as the commander was an Englishman,

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they would not receive due reward of fame: and it would be a disgrace on France, if it could be said that after Philip had retired, Jerusalem had been taken by Richard. M. Paris, 141. Bernardus, 811. Plagon. Cont. of Archb. of Tyre, 635. Sanutus, lib. iii. part 10, c. 6. Hoveden's story is (p. 716), that Richard wished the duke of Burgundy and the French to swear that they would not depart till the conquest should be achieved: but they refused, answering that they would return to France agreeably to the commands of Philip. This general opinion of French and English writers it is difficult to contradict in all respects: on the other hand, Vinesauf is an author of the highest authority on Richard's crusade, and his narrative is full and circumstantial. He mentions violent and alarming altercations between the duke and the king, and the receding of the former from Ascalon. These circumstances were the foundation of the popular story, which in its progress through the world assumed different shapes; wrong places were mentioned as the scene of action, and false conclusions drawn.

Note (U).—Page 137.

Poetry, particularly that of the Provençal bards, was patronised in the court of king Henry the Second; for his queen, Eleanora, was a Troubadour by birth, and, as we have already seen, she did not disgrace her family by the prosaic virtues of prudence, chastity, &c. Richard cultivated the "gay science." Unluckily for the royal lute-loving heroes of modern times, the stanzas which it is said he wrote on the eyes of gentle ladies have not descended to us. One of his other poems seems to have

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been written in prison. It has often been versified, but in every thing that constitutes merit, the translation from the elegant pen of Mr. Ellis is the best.

If captive wight attempt the tuneful strain,
His voice, belike, full dolefully will sound;
Yet, to the sad, 'tis comfort to complain.
Friends have I store; and promises abound;
Shame on the niggards! since, these winters twain
Unransom'd, still I bear a tyrant's chain.

Full well they know, my lords and nobles all,
Of England, Normandy, Guienne, Poictou,
Ne'er did I slight my poorest vassal's call,
But all, whom wealth could buy, from chains withdrew.
Not in reproach I speak, nor idly vain,
But I alone unpitied bear the chain.

My fate will shew, "the dungeon and the grave
"Alike repel our kindred and our friends."
Here am I left their paltry gold to save!
Sad fate is mine; but worse their crime attends.
Their lord will die: their conscience shall remain,
And tell how long I wore this galling chain.

No wonder, though my heart with grief boil o'er,
When he, my perjur'd lord, invades my lands;
Forgets he then the oaths he lately swore,
When both, in treaty, join'd our plighted hands?
Else, sure I ween, I should not long remain
Unpitied here to wear a tyrant's chain.

To those, my friends, long lov'd, and ever dear,
To gentle Chaile, and kind Persarain,
Go forth my song, and say, whate'er they hear,
To them my heart was never false or vain.
Should they rebel—but no; their souls disdain
With added weight to load a captive's chain.

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Know then the youths of Anjou and Touraine,
Those lusty bachelors, those airy lords,
That these vile walls their captive king restrain?
Sure they in aire will draw their loyal swords!
Alas! nor faith, nor valour, now remain;
Sighs are but wind, and I must bear my chain.

Note (X).—Page 138.

The chaplain Anselm is our chief guide for the history of the circumstances which attended the seizure of Richard. His narrative is contained in M. Paris, 143-145; and in the Chronicle of Oxenedes in Brit. Mus. Cotton. MSS. Nero D. 2. p. 221. One of these writers must have copied from the other, or both copied from one original, for their statements are almost literally the same. See, too, Hoveden, 717, 721, 723. The plain matter-of-fact story of Richard's adventures in Germany is quite as interesting, I think, as the fable, which is as follows. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was confined. Blondell de Nesle, Richard's favourite French minstrel, resolved to find out his lord: and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before the window of the chamber where the king was kept; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song he knew it was Blondell who sung it: and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and com-

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pleted it. Blondell then returned to England, acquainted the people with his discovery, and Richard was in due time liberated. Fauchet, Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue Française, p. 92. Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. 1. p. 113, note.

CHANSON.

Blondel.—Domna vostra beautas
Elas bellas faisos
Els bels oils amoros
Els gens cors ben taillats
Dons sieu empresenats
De vostra amor que mi liu.

Richard.—Si bel trop affansia
Ja dei vos non portrai
Que major honorai
Sol en votre deman
Que santra des beisan
So cao de vos volrai.

IMITATED.

B.—Your beauty, lady fair,
None views without delight!
But still so cold an air
No passion can excite.
Yet this I patient see
While all are shunn'd like me.

R.—No nymph my heart can wound,
If favours she divide,
And smile on all around,
Unwilling to decide:
I'd rather hatred bear
Than love with others share.

Burney's History of Music, vol. 2. p. 236.

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In the fourth part of the Mirror for Magistrates, Richard Cœur de Lion thus relates his events.

Backe, backe to England, with a grieved heart,
Leaving these blest affairs of th' holy one
Of Israel, we must with grief depart:
Philip my foe excites my brother John,
In my long absence to aspire the throne:
My England's rocky bounds ring with alarms
Of factious traitors, John is up in arms.

Warn'd by report, my course I did direct
For England's bounds: but here thy muse must know
My father's curse began to take effect:
Heav'n seem'd to frowne, the sea became my foe,
And earth conspir'd to work my greater woe:
By seas' dark waves and froward winds from heav'n,
Unto my foes at shore I up was given.

By tempest driven, from danger to be free,
I made hard shipwracke on the Istrian strand,
Depriv'd of all my train, excepting three,
Enforc'd I was to make my way by land
Throught Austria, to Vienna, that doth stand
Upon Danubius' banks, that dukedom's seat,
The bulwark now 'against Turkish Mahumet.

Their being describ'd unto mine ancient foe,
The Austrian duke I was given up for prey;
Who like himself, himself to me did show,
Bearing in mind the malice of that day,
When I at Acon, for his proud assay
In taking for his lodging in the towne
The palace up, I cast his ensigns down.

Yet with this duke not long was my abode:
For when report of my captivity
Was newly set on wing, and flown abroad,

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Henry, then emperor of Germany,
Forgetful of imperial royalty,
Of that false duke that had me fast in hold,
Greedy of prey, did purchase me for gold.

Upon that man, whom fortune doth begin
To leave forlorn, who will not seem to frown?
When he is sunken up unto the chin
In waves of sad distresse, all thrust him downe,
And suffer him in wretchednesse to drowne;
They that did envy my great state before,
Did wish such state might nere betide me more.

Ambitious John, and Philip, that false king,
Taking the time to perfect their intent,
To Henry did a golden message wing,
In hope if he to set me free was bent,
Such purpose with corruption to prevent.
Which when with terror stricken I did heare,
No hope I had, no comfort did appeare.

Ignoble age, branded with this foule crime,
This blemish thou canst never wipe away;
When true record shall tell to future time,
How most unjust the Christian did repay
His backe returne that did through death assay,
'Gainst paganism to advance the Christian name,
Even children shall upbraid thee with the same.

In tempest of this trouble long being tost,
Sore griev'd in mind for my captivity,
At length compounding with my greedy host,
Th' emperor Henry, hight of Germany,
With ransom to redeem my liberty,
An hundred thousand pounds I did agree
To give to him before I could be free.

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Note (Y).—Page 139.

Richard's speech is not given by any original writer. M. Paris (145) says that the emperor, as well as the other members of the diet, was convinced of Plantagenet's innocence, and that he treated him thenceforth with humanity. The price of the ransom was then the only question. But it is difficult to understand by what right they could detain him, if his innocence were acknowledged. Bromton tells us, that although Richard had proved that he had not participated in Conrad's murder, yet that, for the perfect conviction of the potentates, he sent to the old man of the mountain for a justification. A letter from the chief of the assassins to the duke of Austria is accordingly produced, completely exculpating Richard, and declaring that Conrad was killed by order of the old man, in consequence of the marquis having robbed and murdered an assassin. Another letter is also produced, addressed to all the princes and people of Christendom; in which, as in the former one, the chief of the assassins assumes to himself all the honour of the murder. There is very little difficulty in proving that these letters were forgeries. The very superscriptions are contrary to the oriental mode. "Limpoldo duci Austriæ Vetus de Monte salu-" tem."—"Vetus de Monte Principibus Europæ et omni "populo Christiano salutem." The phrase, Vetus de Monte, is a mere Latin translation of the name by which the chief of the assassins was known in Europe. His appellation in Syria was very different, and, consequently, the letters were not translated from an Arabic original. The over anxiety expressed in the letters for the exculpation of Richard shews that they were of

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European manufacture. "Et bene dicimus vobis in "veritate; quod dominus Ricardus rex Angliæ in hac "Marchisi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter "hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt injuste fece- "runt et sine causa. Sciatis pro certo quod nullum "hominem hujus mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia "occidimus, nisi prius malum nobis fecerit." It is difficult to suppose that this chief would run the risk of the vengeance of the Christian powers from a mere love of justice, and from a wish to exculpate a monarch whom he neither knew nor regarded. The circular letter is without date. The other letter is dated in the middle of September. But the common European division of time was unknown to the Asiatics, and particularly to the savage ignorant assassins. The writer of the letter in Diceto thought to give it probability by dating it according to the year of the Greeks. With the oriental modes he was totally unacquainted. He therefore dates the letter in the year 1505 from Alexander. This year of the Seleucidæ corresponds with the year of Christ 1193. The copyist of the letter for Bromton did not understand this mode of computing time; and, accordingly, he dates his letter, "anno ab Alexandro papa quinto." A Muhammedan prince dating his letters according to pontificates is somewhat strange; and we may pardon his ignorance of what was passing at Rome. Pope Alexander died 1181. Bromton, Diceto, Hemingford, and Trivet, insert one or both of these letters. But those respectable historians, Matthew Paris and Roger Hoveden, have not suffered them to corrupt their works.

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Note (Z).—Page 144.

Saladin's humility and generosity were the principal subjects of praise among the people of the west: and hence the stories became believed, that he distributed money in charity among the poor of every religious denomination, and that a little while before his death he ordered his standard-bearer, when his funeral should take place, to carry his winding sheet, suspended from a lance, through Damascus, and proclaim, "Behold all "that Saladin, the great conqueror of the East, carries "with him to the grave." Dante mentions Saladin, and gives him a place in the division of the lower regions occupied by the greatest and wisest pagan philosophers and poets. Dell' Inferno, canto iv. 129. M. Ginguené well observes, that it was a trait of remarkable independence in Dante to have dared to place in Elysium this terrible enemy of Christians.

The following are pleasing instances of Saladin's self-command and love of justice. "As Bohadin, the his-"torian, was one day exercising, at Jerusalem, his "office of judge, a decent old merchant tendered him "a bill or libel of complaint, which he insisted upon "having opened. 'Who, (says Bohadin) is your ad-"versary?' 'My adversary,' replies the merchant, 'is "the sultan himself; but this is the seat of justice; and "we have heard that you (applying to Bohadin) are not "governed by regard to persons.' Bohadin told him "his cause could not be decided without his adversary "being first apprized. The sultan, accordingly, was "informed of the affair; he submitted to appear; pro-"duced his witnesses, and, having justly defended him-"self, gained the cause. Yet so little did he resent this

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" treatment, that he dismissed his antagonist with a rich " garment and a donation."—" At another time Saladin " was in company with his intimate friends, enjoying " their conversation apart, the crowd being dismissed, " when a slave of some rank brought him a petition in " behalf of some person oppressed. The sultan said " that he was then fatigued, and wished the matter, " whatever it was, might for a time be deferred. The " other did not attend to what was desired, but, on the " contrary, almost thrust the petition into the sultan's " face. The sultan, on this, opening and reading it " once, declared he thought the petitioner's cause a good " one. 'Let then our sovereign lord,' says the other, " 'sign it.' 'There is no inkstand,' says the sultan " (who, being at that time seated at the door of his " tent, rendered it impossible for any one to enter).— " 'You have one,' replies the petitioner, 'in the inner " part of the tent;' (which meant, as the writer well " observes, little less than bidding the prince go and " bring it himself). The sultan, looking back, and " seeing the inkstand behind him, cries out, 'God help " me! the man says true;' and immediately reached " back for it, and signed the instrument." Bohadin's Life of Saladin, p. 22, p. 10, as translated by Mr. Harris, Philological Inquiries, chap. 6.

Note (AA).—Page 154.

For the fourth crusade, that of the German lords, our authorities, with the exception of Arnold of Lubeck, were writers whom I have already characterized, and have often quoted. Our materials for the fifth crusade, though few, are valuable. L'Histoire de la Prise de Con-

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stantinople, par les Français et les Venetiens, écrite par Geoffry de Villehardouin, maréchal de Champagne, fol. edit. Du Cange. The author was an eye-witness, and his testimony is given with simplicity and tolerable candour. Du Cange's notes are as valuable as his notes on the Alexiad. Another observer of the wonderful scenes which were passing on the world was Nicetas. After the last siege of Constantinople, in 1204, this Grecian retired to Nice, and wrote the history of his country from the year 1118 to 1218. Of this lachrymal annalist I have read, and shall refer to Wolf's edition, Basil, 1557. The life of Pope Innocent III. by a contemporaneous, but anonymous author. It is prefixed to Baluzius's edition of the letters of his Holiness, and is inserted by Muratori in the third volume of his great collection of Italian historians, p. 486, &c. Some letters or public despatches from Baldwin, count of Flanders, to the Pope, are included in this life, and are of great value. We have no Venetian eye-witnesses, but I have gathered some facts both from the Chronicle of Andrew Dandalo, in the twelfth volume of Muratori, and the work of Paolo Ramusio, De Bello Constantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetis restitutis. Venet. fol. 1635. The author was secretary to the council of ten, and was ordered by that assembly to write the history of the eventful war between Venice and Greece. Villehardouin's work was his foundation, but the archives of the republic enabled him to give a new air and colour to many facts. The work of Gunther, on the subject of the fifth crusade, has been frequently referred to by other writers; but I have not found in his short narrative many things that are not better treated

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in Villehardouin. The Jesuit Doutreman's history, entitled Constantinopolis Belgica, has not fallen into my hands. I do not regret it, for I am not prejudiced in favour of the biographer of Peter, and I learn from Du Cange, that the Jesuit had not seen the work of Ramusio, or the letters to Pope Innocent III.

Note (BB).—Page 265.

The Count of Champagne published the Crusade in a chanson. He was as serious about the matter as if he had been writing a sermon, for he says,

Diex se laissa per nos en crois pener,
Et nous dira au jour, où tuit venront,
Vos, qui ma crois m'aidates à porter,
Vos en ciez là, où li angele sont,
La me verrez, et ma mere Marie:
Et vos, par qui je n'ai jamais aie
Descendez tuit en infer le profond.

Chanson 55. Poesies du Roi de Navarre, 2 vol. 12mo. Paris, 1742.

Thibaud, however, was more of a gallant than a religious man. Just before embarkation at Marseilles, he consoles himself by writing a song, on leaving the queen of France or some imaginary mistress, and puts himself under the protection of the Virgin.

Dame des Ciex, grans roine poissanz,
Au grant besoig me soiez secarranz,
De vos amer puisse avoir droite flame
Quand Dame perc,* Dame me soit aidanz.

I would give more specimens of the poetry of this count of Champagne, were I not afraid that my readers

* Je pars, je me sépare. Chanson 56.

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recollect the expression of Bossuet, that the count of Champagne made verses which he was foolish enough to publish.

Note (CC).—Page 279.

THE CRUSADERS.

CRUSADER.

Thou seest, my friend, of good and ill
To reason, and their bounds to know,
To us is dealt by sovereign will,
Alone of creatures here below.
And hence, so we employ our pains
To do the works which God ordains,
For us his bounty hath prepar'd,
Of peerless price, a sure reward.
Lo, now the fruitful hour at hand!
To thee the precious boon is given;
For Paynims waste the holy land,
And spoil the heritage of heaven.
Shall we such faithless works behold,
With craven courage slack and cold?
How else, but to the giver's praise,
May we devote our wealth and days?

NON-CRUSADER.

I read thee right—thou holdest good
To this same land I straight should hie,
And win it back with mickle blood,
Nor gain one foot of soil thereby.
While here, dejected and forlorn,
My wife and babes are left to mourn;
My goodly mansion rudely marr'd,
All trusted to my dogs to guard.
But I, fair comrade, well I wot

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An ancient saw, of pregnant wit,
Doth bid us, " Keep what we have got :"
And troth I mean to follow it.
I cannot learn what part 'tis read,
That Christian folk shall so be fed ;
Who soweth thus, I shrewdly guess,
Shall gather naught but emptiness.

CRUSADER.

Forth from thy groaning mother's womb,
Thou, naked helpless child, was brought ;
You see, how soon thou art become
Stout, lusty, lacking now for naught.
Then sure, if wealth for heaven we lose,
Heaven, hundred fold, that wealth renews ;
But Paradise may never bless
The wretch who lives in idleness.

NON-CRUSADER.

Howbeit, my friend, of folk that toil,
And sweat almost their dear heart's blood ;
And all their days keep mighty coil,
To keep some store of this world's good :
Of such, I say, full oft from home,
Our penance sent to holy Rome,
Asturia, or I wot not where,
Nor what befalls the caitiffs there.
I've seen a band of gallants brave,
To France returning all forlorn ;
Without or waiting wench or knave,
And naked, nigh, as they were born.
Now sure, it needs not cross the seas,
And play such losing games as these ;
And bow one's flesh to servitude,
All for one's soul's immortal good !
I say, good brother, so you hold

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Alone we purchase heavenly bliss:
For this a man must waste his gold,
And pass the boundless seas for this.
Now I maintain 'tis far more sage,
In peace to hold one's heritage;
And there that Paradise obtain,
For which thou needs wilt cross the main.

CRUSADER.

Nay, now thy speech so lewdly sounds,
I scarce may sober answer deign:
Thou ween'st, forsooth, with hawks and hounds
To save thy soul, sans fleshy pain:
How much of martyrs' blood has flow'd
To win those seats of heaven's abode?
How many, this world's joys foregone,
And buried quick, in cloister's moan?

NON-CRUSADER.

Sire, by my fay, thou preachest well!
Thy words are brave; 'twere best thou go
To yon sequester'd silent cell,
And teach its lordly abbot so!
Those fattening deans would gladly hear;
Those prelates needs must lend an ear;
Such men, be sure, heaven's laws fulfil,
Devoted to their Maker's will!

On these his plenteous gifts he showers,
While we are told his wars to wage!
Their rents flow in, they dwell in bowers,
Nor, slumbering, note the tempest's rage.
Good faith, Sir, if the road to heaven,
Be made so passing smooth and even,
The priest who changeth, wit must lack,
He ne'er shall find a readier track.

Way's Fabliaux, vol. ii. p. 227, 230, edit. 1796.

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Note (DD).—Page 293.

M. Paris, 684. The English were alluded to by the count of Artois. The reason for the supposition that they belonged to the caudatory part of mankind, it is difficult to determine. Every one knows that there was a common story in old times, that some of our ancestors, in consequence of having treated disrespectfully St. Augustine, the missionary, incurred the punishment of wearing tails; and that the curse was hereditary. The murder of Thomas à Becket was another reason why our forefathers became caudati. Du Cange (Alexiad, book iv. p. 202. n.) thinks that an allusion is here made to their custom of wearing shoes with long extended points, sustained by chains of gold and silver, or silken strings, which were tied to the knee. So old a writer as Malmsbury mentions this foppery. "The ecclesiastics," says Hume, "took exception at this ornament, which, "they said was an attempt to belie the Scripture, where "it is affirmed, that no man can add a cubit to his "stature; and they declaimed against it with great "vehemence: nay, assembled some synods, who ab- "solutely condemned it. But, such are the strange "contradictions in human nature! though the clergy, "at that time, could overturn thrones, and had "authority to send above a million of men on *their* "errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never pre- "vail against these long pointed shoes." Hume, History of England, vol. i. p. 302, edit. 8vo. 1783. An act of parliament, in the third year of the reign of Edward IV., and a subsequent royal proclamation, prohibited these chains and strings, and declared that the shoes should not extend two inches beyond the

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foot, under the penalty of twenty shillings. The fashion then ran into a contrary extreme; and, in queen Mary's days, a prohibition was made of shoes' toes more than six inches square. But it is difficult to agree with Du Cange, that the word "caudati" is used in the sense he contends for by the count d'Artois. Long pointed shoes were in fashion in France as well as in England; and in both countries clerical admonition stayed the usual capriciousness of fashion. In a strange mixture of spiritual and trifling matters, a council held at Sens, about half a century after the proclamation of Edward IV., condemned Luther and pointed shoes. Du Cange, who, in the course of his inquisitive and learned researches, always sweeps every thing both far and near to his subject, shews that Tertullian and St. Augustine declaimed against long and pointed shoes. Cicero (de Natura Deorum, i. 29) mentions the calcei *repandi* of Juno, and Ernesti brings instances of coins which prove the fact. On the different effects of clerical preaching and royal counsel against a particular form of dress, the curious reader is referred to Bayle, article Connecte.

Note (EE).—Page 337.

The excessive simplicity of the monument of Edward I. has been supposed to have proceeded from the circumstance that his body was frequently re-embalmed: and such a tomb was favourable to the operation. The king's appointment was never executed. "The monkish "Chronicles," says Warton, "impute the crime of with-"holding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king "of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the

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" succeeding king. But it is more probable that Ed-
" ward II. and his profligate minion, Piers Gaveston,
" dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive
" pleasures." Warton, History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 106-108. In an elegy made on the death of Edward I. the writer makes Edward say,

" Iche biqueth myn hirte aryht,
" That hit be write at mi devys,
" Over the sea that Hue* be diht,
" With fourscore knyghtes al of pris,
" In werre that buen war aut wys,
" Agein the hethene for to fyhte,
" To wynne the croize that low bys,
" Myself ycholde gef thet y myhte."

The elegist thus proceeds:

Kyng of France! thou hevedust sunne,†
That thou the counsail woldest fonde,
To latte‡ the wille of kyng Edward,
To wend to the holi londe;
Thet our kynge hede take on honde,
All Engeland to zeme§ and wysse,‖
To wenden into the holi londe;
To wynnen us heveriche blisse.

The messager to the Pope com
And seyede that our kynge was dede,
Ys owne hond the lettre he nom,¶
Y wis his herte wes ful gret;
The Pope himself the lettre redde,
And spec a word of gret honour.
" Alas," he seid, " is Edward ded?
" Of Cristendome he ber the flour."

* One of his officers.

† *Sin.* ‡ *Let*, hinder. § Protect. ‖ Govern. ¶ Took.

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The Pope is to chaumbre wende,
For dole ne mihte he spake na more;
Ant after cardinales he sende
That muche couthen of Cristes lore.
Both the lasse * ant eke the more
Bed hem both red ant synge;
Great deol me † myhte se thore, ‡
Many mon is honde wrnge.

The Pope of Peyters stod at is masse
With ful gret solempnete
Ther me con § the soule blisse;
" Kyng Edward, honoured thou be;
God love thy sone come after the,
Bringe to ende that thou hast bygonne,
The holy crois ymade of tre
So fain thou woldest hit have ywonne.

" Jerusalem, thou hast ilore
The floure of all chivalrie,
Now kyng Edward liveth na more,
Alas, that he yet shulde deye!
He wolde ha rered up full heyge
Our banners that bulth broht to grounde;
Wel longe we may clepe || and crie,
Er we such a kyng have y founde."

It is said that Robert Bruce, in his dying moments, exclaimed, that he had formerly made a vow that if his wars should end favourably, he would go and fight the enemies of Jesus Christ. But as his life had been spent in contests with England, he could not accomplish what he wished, and he would send his heart in the stead of his body to fulfil his vow. Lord James

* Less. † Men. ‡ There. § Begnn. || Call.

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Douglas then promised upon his knighthood to bear the heart to the holy sepulchre, proclaiming at every principal place on his journey that he bore the heart of king Robert of Scotland. Froissart, vol. I. p. 48, &c. The king died; his friend embalmed his remains, put the heart into a silver casket, and commenced his journey. He went into Spain, and was killed fighting with the infidels. The issue is thus told by Barbour.

Sum off the lord Dowglas' men,
That thair lord dede has fundyn there,
Yeid weill ner woud for dule and wa,
Lang quhill our hym thai sorowit swa,
And syne with gret dule hame hym bar:
The king's hart half thai fundyn thar,
And that hame with thaim haff thai tane.

The Bruce, vol. 3. p. 174.

Pinkerton's Edition.

The heart of Bruce was deposited at Melros.

Note (FF).—Page 364.

Parmi les nombreuses recherches qu'on a faites de nos jours, pour découvrir si les Templiers avaient un secret et quel était ce secret, il a été présenté le système que les Templiers avaient des opinions Gnostico-Manichéennes et que l'idole qu'on les accusait d'adorer était une figure BAFFOMETIQUE, mot difficile ou peut-être impossible à expliquer.

Une observation très-simple suffira pour renverser ce système et réfuter l'érudition dont on a tâché de l'appuyer.

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Dans la déposition de deux témoins entendus à Carcassonne, qui parlent de FIGURA BAFFOMETI, il est évident que c'est par une faute d'orthographe ou de prononciation que ce mot est ainsi écrit, au lieu de *Mahometi*, soit qu'alors dans les provinces du midi, on prononçât ainsi le nom de Mahomet, soit que le copiste ait écrit par erreur *Baffometi*, comme il a écrit en même temps *asorare* pour *adorare;* et ce qui doit ne laisser aucun doute à cet égard, c'est que le second témoin prétend qu'on lui fit prononcer Y ALLA, mot des Sarrazins, dit-il, qui signifie Dieu.

Enfin, on restera convaincu que les inquisiteurs ont voulu faire avouer aux témoins que les Templiers rendaient un culte à Mahomet, et que ce mot ne s'applique qu'à Mahomet, si l'on se souvient que l'un des témoins entendus à Florence, prétend qu'en lui montrant l'idole, on lui disait: "Voici votre Dieu et votre 'Mahomet.' ECCE DEUS VESTER ET VESTER MAHUMET."

Raynouard, p. 301. Appendix.

Note (GG).—Page 394.

Some of the best witnesses for the history of the middle ages affirm, that seduced by the preaching of fanatics, the children of France and Germany, about the year 1213, thought themselves authorized by Heaven to attempt the rescue of the sepulchre, and ran about the country, crying, "Lord Jesus Christ, "restore thy cross to us." Boys and girls stole from their homes, "no bolts, no bars, no fear of fathers "or love of mothers, could hold them back," and the

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number of youthful converts was thirty thousand. They were organized by some fanatical wretches, one of whom was taken and hanged at Cologne. The children drove down France, crossed the Alps, and those who survived thirst, hunger, and heat, presented themselves at the gates of the sea-ports of Italy and the south of France. Many were driven back to their homes; but seven large ships full of them went from Marseilles: two of the vessels were wrecked on the isle of St. Peter, the rest of the ships went to Bugia and Alexandria, and the masters sold the children to slavery. These singular events are mentioned by four contemporary writers. 1. Alberic, monk of Trois Fontaines, in his Chronicle, p. 459, edit. Leibnitz. 2. Godfrey of St. Pantaleon, in his Annals, p. 381, in the first vol. of Freher, Rer. Germ. Scrip. edit. Struve. The editor cites in his margin a Belgic chronicle as a testimony, which I have not seen. 3. Sicard, bishop of Cremona, in Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scrip. vii. p. 623. 4. M. Paris, p. 204. Roger Bacon, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, thus speaks of the crusade of children: "Forsan vidistis ant audistis pro certo quod pueri de regno Franciæ semel occurrebant in infinita multitudine post quondam malignum hominem, ita quod nec a patribus, nec a matribus, nec amicis poterant detineri, et positi sunt in navibus et Saracenis redditi, et non sunt adhuc 64 anni." Opus Majus, p. 253. Honest Fuller says, "this Crusade was done by the instinct "of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordial of "children's blood, to comfort his weak stomach,

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"long cloyed with murdering of men." History of the Holy War, book iii. chap. xxiv.

In illustration of the foregoing History the following Genealogical Tables are annexed.

1. The Latin Kings of Jerusalem.
2. Princes of Antioch.
3. Counts of Tripoli.
4. Counts of Edessa.

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Mills, Charles, 1788-1826
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